

JPRS 73987

9 August 1979

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 8

Translations from Beijing

Unofficial Journals



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

## NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.



9 August 1979

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 8  
TRANSLATIONS FROM BEIJING  
UNOFFICIAL JOURNALS

CONTENTS	PAGE
Remember '5 April' and Realize the Four Modernizations--First Anniversary of the Reversal of Verdict on '5 April Movement' (Chun Feng; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	1
Whither the Democratic Wall?--Also on Socialist Democracy (Chou Xun; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	5
The Debt of Blood Must Be Collected From Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four'--The Miscarriage of Justice on Yu Luoke [6657 5012 0344], Author of the 'Theory of Family Origin' Must Be Redressed (Zue Ke; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	17
Inaugural Statement 16 December 1978 (Originally Carried in No 1 Issue) (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	21
Regulations for 'SIWU LUNTAN' Editorial Department (Draft) (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	23
Discipline Pledge for 'SIWU LUNTAN' Editorial Department (Draft) (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	25
A Preliminary Survey of Social Changes in Contemporary China (1) (Xu Shu; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	27
Selection From Beijing 'DEMOCRATIC WALL': Advertisement on Modern Style (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	29



CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
'Long Live the People' Queried (An Xiang; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	30
An Urgent Task (Xu Shu; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	34
A Cursory Talk on Today's '5 April' Movement (She Ren; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	36
View the Necessity of a Radical Social Change From the Perspective of What Happened to Zhou Enlai in his Later Years (Xu Shu; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	37
'Counterrevolution' and 'Freedom of Speech' (Liu Shui; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	39
Contribution From Zhongqing (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	44
More Talk on Strengthening Party Leadership (Huai An; SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	46
Report on the Situation (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	49
Announcements (SIWU LUNTAN, 1 Apr 79).....	51
Editorial Message to Authors of Democracy Wall Posters (Editorial; QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 8 Jan 79).....	52
Proposals Suggested to Party Central Committee (Xia Xunjian; QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 8 Jan 79).....	56
Home News in Brief (QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 2 Jan 79).....	58
Jing Qing, Liu Shaoqi, Renegades Discussed (Qiu Xun; QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 2 Jan 79).....	59
Standing Committee Member Chen Yisong Visited (QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 24 Feb 79).....	61
Open Message to Taiwan News Media (QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 24 Feb 79).....	62
Controversy Over 'Democratic Wall' at Taiwan University (QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 24 Feb 79).....	63

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Letter to Editors Criticizing Press, Publishing Circles (Zhao Qingli; QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO, 24 Feb 79).....	65
Unemployment in Socialist Country Discussed (QIMENG,undated).....	68
Discussion on U.S.-Chinese Friendship (Jie Jun; QIMENG, undated).....	72

REMEMBER '5 APRIL' AND REALIZE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS--FIRST ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE REVERSAL OF VERDICT ON '5 APRIL MOVEMENT'

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 1-3

[Article by Chun Feng [2504 7364]

[Text] Three years ago, following the death of Premier Zhou Enlai and the development of the so-called movement to "criticize Deng and to beat back the rightist reversal of verdicts," the Chinese people, who had lived through the 10 year Great Cultural Revolution, thought that all hopes were lost. What they could see was only political corruption, economic collapse and a cultural backwardness. They could not tolerate this situation any longer! Before the Monument to the Heroes of the People, the veteran fighters, who had fought their battles in various parts of the country, pondered: "Is this the result of our bloodshed and sacrifices?" Many young people who grew up in the turmoils of the past 10 years discussed things among themselves and wondered: "Is this our revolutionary ideal?" Out of the quietness, the Chinese nation raised its voice: "No. We cannot accept these realities! We need democracy, the "four modernizations, brightness and progress!" Look at the surging crowds before Tiananmen and the people's excitement all along the great river. The whole of China was seething with excitement! Yet people had been so quiet, and the Tiananmen Square, where hundreds of thousands of people passed by, had seemed so orderly. Was this not a sign of the people's innate power and their consciousness? Was this not a great "national poll?" That was a review as well as a rehearsal!

The "gang of four," who were the people's enemies, could not stand this pressure from the people and were terrified. They sent spies to shadow people everywhere and secretly arrested them. But they had only limited success.

Mass arrests began at Tiananmen Square late in the evening of April 1976. On 5 April, the "gang of four" sent a large number of hatchet men against the completely unarmed people. With clubs and shackles, they suppressed this surging movement of the people in a bloodbath. People were living in a white terror, and the "gang of four," who could kill people without

even blinking, celebrated "our victory!" Thus 5 April became a date to be remembered by the Chinese people and to be recorded in contemporary Chinese history! This was a great historical event which shocked the world! To commemorate this nationwide intensive mass movement with its center at the Tiananmen Square, people have called it the "5 April Movement."

What has the great "5 April" Movement taught us?

First, it tells us that Chinese people are worthy of the name of a great people; that the CCP is worthy of the name of a great party; and that the Chinese army is worthy of the name of a great army, because, in addition to workers, peasants, intellectuals and the masses of party members, there were party cadres at various levels and also the broad masses of PLA officers and men taking part in this great movement. People from all directions, regardless of their occupations or social position, did not bother to know one another's names, but all joined in the common denunciation of the perverted actions of the "gang of four." There were too many rumors for them to track down and too many revolutionary poems for them to prohibit. They were engulfed in the ocean of the masses. They were then like vermins with thousands of accusing fingers pointing at them. How can they avoid being toppled? Such emotions among the Chinese people have been rarely seen in thousands of years of Chinese history. The isolation of the "gang of four" could only be paralleled by the Japanese aggressors in 1945 and Jiang Jieshi in 1949.

It cannot be denied that the "gang of four" have to be thanked for bringing about such a unity of the party, the party [as printed] and the army. From the great "5 April" Movement, people can see that they themselves are powerful, and that there are hopes for China!

The suppression of the sweeping "5 April" Movement and the fact that the "gang of four" had been able to run amok (and rule) socialist China for 10 long years show that socialism cannot be without democracy and a legal system! Without democracy and a legal system, people are simply helpless when enemies like the "gang of four" emerge in the party! Without some basic democracy or the required legal system, the people cannot do anything to even the grassroot level leadership.

Some people have said: "The main purpose of the revolutionary movement at Tiananmen Square has already been achieved." They seemed to tell people: Your "democratic movement" can now be concluded! We say it cannot be concluded because, up to now, socialist democracy and the legal system in China are still far from perfect. People must have certain democratic rights and it is only natural that people should exercise these rights fully. Until then, how can the movement be concluded?

It is true that during the current "democratic movement," problems of one kind or another have appeared in various parts of China. Some people have taken advantage of "democracy" to create disorder while others use this as a pretext to suppress democracy. We oppose such actions. The "democratic movement" should not be held responsible for people trying to disrupt

social order by creating troubles. Such troubles can only be attributed to an inadequate democratic and legal system, and anarchism is a punishment for opportunism. Any action to suppress democracy is a reaction against "democracy and legal system!" Since we have no laws on publication, on forming associations and on holding processions, and even the laws on marriage are not adequate. Some people are of the opinion that lying on railway tracks, smashing stores and storming government offices can be called acts of "procession and demonstration"; that not going to work is an act of "strike"; that the mimeographed tabloids produced by people are "underground publications"; that associations formed by the people without having applied for registration are "secret associations"; and that any statement made by people, though useful and correct, but not officially approved, is considered as "reactionary" all calling for conviction, legal persecution and so forth.

In commemorating the "5 April Movement," we must continue to develop the spirit of the movement which calls for "democracy and a legal system" in order that our socialist democracy and legal system will continue to improve.

In commemorating the "5 April" Movement, we must accelerate the 'realization of the four modernizations.' At present, efficiency is low and action is slow in many departments. Restrictions from various quarters and procrastination have produced quite a serious situation, and there is still no sign of any economic system being adopted to raise labor productivity to the maximum extent. That is why some people said: "It will soon be 3 years after overthrowing the 'gang of four,' and the situation is still what it was. It will be pretty fine if the four modernizations can be realized in 32 instead of 23 years!" These words sound reasonable in some way.

It has been an established practice in China that no radical change can be easy, because anyone trying to carry it out is bound to be denounced or attacked by the conservatives. These people, who are totally incapable of introducing any reform, can, however, make good jokes of the reformers. In their opinion, "'big mouths,' 'long hair,' 'dance parties' and foreign movies are terrible indeed!" In fact, sartorial appearance is only a matter of personal taste and does not deserve violent denunciations from party cadres or government officials, because they should have far more important business on hand. Of course, we do not share these funs, but the question is "will the prohibition of 'big mouths,' 'long hair,' 'dance parties' and so forth insure all-round peace?" If so, such action is certainly good; but these are trivial matters or at most the reflection of some political ripples. Their prohibition cannot solve any basic problem. We must set things right at the source before we can eliminate chaos and restore order. The vast majority of Chinese youths are active and forward-looking, and the future of China is rosy. We request the conservatives to quiet down and let the reformers act boldly for a few years. In this way, the realization of the four modernizations may be

accomplished in China at an earlier date. There may be certain mistakes when these reformers work vigorously, and the conservatives can certainly point out these mistakes. We may say that people with perceptive eyes are urgently needed. For example, have not practical experts accurately pointed out that the present problem is to adjust and not to be hasty in getting "big results?"

After all, today, the purpose of our commemorating the "5 April" Movement is to carry forward the "5 April Movement" spirit in quest for "democracy, a legal system, reform and the four modernizations." This is quite worth the efforts of us Chinese people to contribute our part toward achieving a beautiful future!

CSO- 4005

## WHITHER THE DEMOCRATIC WALL?--ALSO ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Beijing SIWU LUNJIAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 5-14

[Article by Chou Xue (5297 6598)]

[Text] How will the ~~Asian~~ Democratic Wall develop? How should we treat democracy? And how shall we guide its development? These questions must be answered. An attempt will be made in this article to search for the answers.

What is democracy? In common language, it means that people are the masters. What is socialist democracy? It means that people are the real masters under the socialist system.

How did the conception of democracy come about? In a feudal society, people could not enjoy democracy. Feudal system means autocratic dictatorship under which whatever the monarch said was final. The people had no right to speak; they could only obey. That is why there was no conception of democracy at that time. The bourgeoisie had to use the strength of workers and peasants in its struggle to overthrow the feudal system, and its economic form, which is different from that of feudalism, requires relatively free wage-labor power. Therefore, the bourgeoisie advocated democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity and similar slogans. From the very beginning, these conceptions had their bourgeois limitation, and after the bourgeoisie's seizure of political power, particularly when it was heading for the stage of monopoly, there was an even greater need for the bourgeoisie to define the substance and scope of democracy and freedom. Laws in bourgeois countries have clearly illustrated this point. Thus it can be seen that in any form of society, democracy and freedom are by no means unlimited or absolute, but are rather restricted by the interests of the ruling class.

Laborers of the proletariat established a socialist system through revolution and for the first time in human history became their own masters. It is the system of rule by the majority over a minority of exploiters. The character of this type of political power determined the scope of democracy to which the broad masses were entitled. This form of democracy is more substantial and extensive. Theoretically speaking, socialist



democracy is far superior to that of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, under the socialist system, the general tendency is that the more extensive is democracy, the more substantial it becomes. At present, the demand for democracy is an irresistible historical torrent. All so-called revolutionaries will be tested by the masses amid this torrent. The masses will differentiate the genuine from the sham revolutionaries and make their choice accordingly. Anyone trying to oppose this torrent will be washed-out. To illustrate the extensiveness of this inexorable democratic torrent, the following points are offered:

1. According to Chairman Mao, "people" as a concept, has different meanings at different historical stages. The stronger the power of people, the greater will be the scope of democracy. The progress of socialism strengthens this power and reduces the scope of dictatorship over its targets. It can never be claimed that along with the development of socialism, enemies will become more numerous while the power of people will be correspondingly reduced.

2. Socialist democracy is closely related to the theory of class struggle. As long as classes exist, democracy is limited, because democracy cannot be extended over to the side of enemies. In the course of socialist development, will class struggle become increasingly violent or increasingly mild? Will class struggle go on everyday, or only under certain conditions? Stalin erred on this point, because he held that the more highly developed is socialism, the more acute would be class struggle. This was the theoretical foundation for his Great Purge. We must take a lesson from this historical experience and realize that the more advanced is socialism, the more will class struggle tend to be mild; otherwise the disappearance of classes under communism can never be realized. Since class struggle will become increasingly mild, the scope of democracy should be correspondingly expanded.

3. Under the socialist system, Marxism concerning "people as the makers of history" as a historical materialist doctrine is continuing to find its way deep into people's hearts and has become the guiding ideology for the broad masses. The people's consciousness has been greatly raised particularly because of the appearance of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as teachers by negative examples during the Great Cultural Revolution, when, from their painful experience, the people learned how much they would have to suffer if people could not become their own masters. This consciousness has laid the ideological and theoretical foundation for extensive democracy.

Therefore, the widespread demand for democracy by our people has formed an irresistible historical torrent. Anyone failing to note this point is politically blind.

Under a socialist system, it is beyond doubt that people enjoy extensive democracy. However, theories can provide only the general orientation and possibility, and it is up to people's conscious efforts to accomplish



it. This is the difference between social and natural laws. In nature, wind and rain generally take place without human efforts, but the application of social laws cannot be without the conscious efforts of people. Therefore, the realization of democracy cannot be separated from the conscious demands of the broad masses, meaning the result of the emancipation of the mind in a big way without which democracy cannot be realized. Democracy bestowed as a royal favor is meaningless.

Below, let us study how the lack of extensive democracy in China from time immemorial has been inseparable from the long-lasting mental shackles.

Feudal society existed in China for thousands of years. Throughout all these years, feudal autocracy fettered people's minds. History has certainly left many fine traditions for the Chinese people, [several words illegible] but it cannot be denied that Chinese people have also inherited many evils. Their endurance and submissiveness are something rare in the world, but such qualities are subject to the law of "one divides into two." It has merits as well as defects. Among the merits are the spirit to swallow humiliation and to bear a heavy load, the submission to discipline, self-sacrifice and consideration for the overall situation. Among the defects is the tendency to encourage autocracy. For a long time, people did not know that they alone could emancipate themselves and, therefore, had no faith in their own ability. Instead, they attributed their own happiness or misery to some other person. In a feudal society, when peasants longed for better days, they prayed for a "real son of heaven" to bring people happiness, or for an official of high integrity like "Lord Bao" to redress their grievances. In the people's minds, the so-called "upright official" has become an image with promises of happiness. In the past 100 years, the rule of imperialism, warlords and the Guomindang have been all along a form of autocracy with no democracy whatsoever to speak of. Jiang Jieshi was a substitute for an emperor, and under his one-party dictatorship, human lives were no more valuable than grasses. Since the "4 May" Movement, Chinese people have longed for democracy and freedom. They were only in the preliminary stage of awakening and vainly striving for them. The communist party was denied its legal status as soon as it ascended the political stage. It had only a long experience of armed struggle, but did not know how to take advantage of a democratic platform and lacked the experience of legitimate democratic struggles. Therefore, it had no real understanding of the importance of democracy and its role. It mobilized the broad masses in the countryside, and this decision was consistent with certain backward way of thinking. Peasants' movement in history attracted mass support invariably through the help of gods, heaven's will, heaven's decree, religion or certain individuals. To meet the needs of the struggle in the countryside, the party allowed the masses to place their hope on itself as the "big savior" while it was setting up its own leadership. It was on such a basis that the leader was deified and that was how the "big savior" came to substitute for the "real son of heaven." Thus the ideas that "there has never been any savior" and that "we can only rely on ourselves instead of gods or

emperors to emancipate ourselves" as sung in the "Internationale" have all along failed to take roots in people's minds. In the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, we have talked about "people as the masters of history" in our political life. But are they real masters or nominal masters, or in fact lackeys? It will not be difficult to find the answer if we will only review the situation of the cultural revolutionary movement. During the Great Cultural Revolution, whatever was said by the Vice Commander and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, particularly the "saviors" like Jiang Qing, had to be unconditionally following the masses of lackeys. Whenever they gave any hint of "Grasp!" "Criticize and Struggle!" people would have to rack their brains in order to read "the leading cadres' mind" and then "followed closely." Attacking any person by name was tantamount to giving him a death sentence. Have we not decided everything according to the "superior's will" or gone through such political experience as "act accordingly whether or not you have fully grasped its significance?" Then what master's right did the people possess? It was under such circumstances that cruel masters like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" appeared to rule people's lives and inflicted untold misery on us. In reviewing this "painful process," have we not learned a lesson at the cost of our lives, blood and tears? Is it not quite clear that people's real democracy is very important and that people's emancipated minds and independent thinking are the prerequisites for them to be their own masters?

However, up to this date, people still have the habit of believing in the "savior" instead of themselves. Just look! Are there not slogans in the streets demanding the dispatch of work teams to emancipate us, requesting so and so to take charge and hoping that Upright Official So and So will speak up on behalf of the people?

Thus it can be seen that the prerequisite for the realization of democracy is the people's awakening and the emancipation of their minds. Without this prerequisite, democracy cannot be realized. Those who have no need for democracy at all and are habitually submissive lackeys actually do not know what to do with democracy even though it may be bestowed on them as an act of grace from above. To put it more bluntly, they are like Jie Gui [6328 2710] who, when told to sit down, said: "We lackeys are accustomed to standing."

How can real extensive democracy be realized? How can the mind be emancipated? These are urgent questions at present which must be answered.

(1) Any assessment of the role of leaders must be accurate and praising of leaders should be appropriate, but not excessive. In his talk with Snow, Chairman Mao said that the cult of personality was necessary to a certain extent. What he said had a dual meaning: First, for the sake of the revolution, the importance of leadership should be affirmed and the cult of leadership is necessary; secondly, "to a certain extent" means "appropriately" but not "without limit" or "excessively." However, some people think that the higher the assessment of the leader, the better it

will be, and that the same goes for the cult of leadership. As a result, no favorable evaluation or praise of leadership can be excessive. If a contest were held to sing the praise of the leader according to this viewpoint, Lin Biao must have been the champion because he raised the leader to the pinnacle. The Guomindang also encouraged "faith in the leader to the point of superstition and submission to the leader in blind obedience." Since the Communist Party uses historical materialism as its own guiding thought, "plain proletarian feelings" can be no substitute for a materialistic conception of history. On the one hand, we just fully affirm the role of leaders, because they are indispensable in the struggles of the proletariat. We need a large number of fine leaders, and it is wrong to negate their importance. In criticizing the left-wing infantile disorder, Lenin pointed out that the idea of not wanting leaders was erroneous. Engels also wrote "On Authority" as everyone knows. Yet, on the other hand, we must not exaggerate the leaders' roles. What would be the serious consequences if we exaggerate the leaders' roles? Many people have not thought of this. Now is the time for them to know.

Exaggeration of a leader's role inevitably means his deification, resulting in some form of religious superstition. This will not do the leader any good, because it is not a scientific evaluation, and may even distort his image. Also exaggeration of a leader's role will certainly lead to the negation of the role of collective leadership and to the acceptance of patriarch role of "what one says goes." This will undermine democratic centralism.

Exaggeration of a leader's role will turn the relationship between the leader and the masses upside down, because extolling a leader in terms reserved for the masters means the negation of the proper place of the broad masses. If the relationship between the masters and the "public servant" is reversed, people will inevitably place their hopes for liberation completely on a leader. The loss of the leader will then breed pessimism and despair, and any shortcoming and mistake (which are inevitable) on the part of the leader will lead to grave disasters. The masses will lose their dynamic spirit and nothing can be done to remedy the loss.

Exaggeration of the leader's role will create the practice of flattering and toadying, and pave the way for the emergence of careerists. That was why Khrushchev won confidence by calling Stalin his father and Lin Biao became the successor by shouting "Long Live!" Are not these good lessons for us?

In her book "The Age of Stalin," Strong mentioned his episode: When Stalin was stepping up his Great Purge, a certain newspaper editor, out of deep adoration for Stalin, held that this action was justified. He said: "If there are several enemies in every hundred, and there is no way to single them out, killing all of them, including the innocent ones, is necessary and justifiable because of the requirements of the revolution." Soon afterwards, this editor himself became a victim of the Great Purge. He was imprisoned and died in the prison shortly afterwards. Whether

or not he "died willingly" is unknown. This kind of tragedy as a result of the cult of personality is an apt illustration of "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet." Is not this of some educative significance to those who believe that "blind faith in the leader can only be beneficial but not harmful?"

Thus we can see that the cult of personality is a big handicap to the emancipation of minds. To realize true democracy, we must energetically disseminate the materialistic conception of history. We must not exaggerate any individual role and must let the masses know about themselves.

2. Democracy needs to be legalized and systematized. To protect people's democratic rights, there should be a good legal system. A legal system embodies the will of a class and the will of the people combined, and should be above individual will. Therefore, we cannot permit individual wills to stand above the class and the masses. Everyone should be equal before the law and none can be above it. Since this is necessary even in capitalist countries, why can't a socialist China do the same? This matter is related to our first question. Because of the exaggeration of an individual's role, the "will of the superior" can decide everything. An individual can stand above the law, or even abolish it, and act solely according to the "superior's will." Therefore, a number of privileged officials, big and small, have appeared at all levels and they are free from any regulation by law. This influence is felt even today, particularly in the countryside where "local emperors" are free to practice "local policies" on the masses in complete disregard of party disciplines or state laws. Unless this situation is changed, the realization of democracy will be idle talk.

In order to create an atmosphere in which respect for law will substitute for the cult of personality, laws must be independent and able to insure the practice of people's democracy. At present, some people are studying the draft of specific laws based on the Constitution. Anyway, the most important point is that we must not permit any practice similar to what we witnessed during the Great Cultural Revolution when on the strength of a single word from the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, all laws could be trampled underfoot and people could be arrested, beaten up, imprisoned, subjected to house search and even executed. Unless there is a guarantee against this practice, no law whatsoever can be effective.

3. Democracy is a means instead of an end. At present, the purpose of democracy is to concentrate various forces to serve the four modernizations. Without the "four modernizations," nothing can be accomplished. This concerns the most basic interests of Chinese people, and democracy cannot deviate from this orbit. Furthermore, the realization of the four modernizations also provides a material foundation for people to emancipate themselves. If the country is not wealthy, the people will be poor. If people cannot free themselves from poverty and backwardness, democracy cannot be realized, because what practical purpose could be served if people can only talk about democracy with an empty stomach?



On the other hand, however, democracy is a prerequisite for realizing the four modernizations, because without democracy, how can there be modernization? If people's enthusiasm and initiative are not given full play, and if everything has to be done according to the superior's will, while the masses can only passively obey, can you imagine what kind of modernization it will be? Thus, we can see an inseparable relationship between democracy and the four modernizations. Only when people are really masters of themselves can the four modernizations be within each reach.

4. A high political, scientific and cultural level for the whole Chinese nation is required for democracy. The CCP Central Committee has already raised this question. This action is of very profound significance. Our people have suffered enough from ignorance and backwardness. Not too long ago, because of our political, scientific and cultural backwardness, we have suffered from foreign invasions, discrimination and ridicule. Even after the Great Cultural Revolution, we can easily be deceived, fooled and led by the nose, and act only passively because of our low political and cultural level and our simple minds. If we lack the power of thinking independently, we can only follow the "superior's will" and let him decide on our destiny. We can only mechanically repeat what others say, raise our hands to say "yes" or to shout "Long Live" like robots. Because of their lower cultural and scientific levels and their lack of the mental power of decision, they have been used by the "gang of four" who deceived the people, defiled public opinion, and drove them to fight among themselves in factional feuds. From these experiences, we cannot help but ask ourselves: Why did we listen to them instead of acting independently?

5. To realize democracy, we need certain organizational measures in addition to extensive public opinion. The demand for democracy is hot at both ends but cool in the middle. At one end are the far-sighted leading comrades in the CCP Central Committee; at the other end are the broad masses at the grassroot levels. These two ends are hot. However, the leading comrades at the middle and some basic levels are very cool. Among those who are cool, the majority do not quite understand or appreciate the significance of democracy, but the minority are those who have been fairly seriously poisoned by the "gang of four." Some of this minority might have come to power and gained some benefits by deviating to the left and carrying out the leftist line. They look down upon, distrust and fear the masses, but are obsessed with their official authorities. They want the masses to be submissive and obedient to the utmost so that they can be easily ruled. They want lackeys, not talents. They are in the habit of issuing orders right and left and manipulating the people, but have never thought that they are the people's "public servants." This type of people do not advocate democracy, because allowing people to be their masters means negating themselves. Therefore, the resistance to democracy comes from these overlords. These overlords are by no means uncommon particularly in the countryside. To practice democracy, we must ask these feudal "local emperors" to dismount in order that people can truly be their own masters. If these people are allowed to rule as masters, how can there be any freedom left for the broad masses? Therefore, there must be a determined effort to protect democracy organizationally.

Socialist democracy does not only mean people's rights of speech but also, more important still, the right to manage the state, to elect people's true representatives for leading posts at various levels of the government, to supervise the work of all leaders to be sure that they faithfully serve the people, and to dismiss those who are unfit for duty, particularly those who are harmful to the people. In other words, people should have the right to elect their leaders to represent the people's interests and lead them forward. At present, the first requisite is to allow people to air their feelings, or to give them the right to make their own voice heard. For this purpose, I am going to present several specific problems as follows:

First, although the Democratic Wall as a form of expression of people's opinion has not been prohibited, it has not received any open support from the leaders either. Is this a good thing or a bad thing after all? There may be certain worries among the leaders. First, they are afraid that stability and unity would be affected with unfavorable results for the four modernizations. If so, the relationship between democracy and the four modernizations should be correctly understood. In fact, good leadership is a positive factor. We must not always look at the dark side. Of course, bad leadership will produce poor results. Anyway, stability and unity do not mean a stagnant pool. The so-called stability in a situation where "all sounds are hushed" is not real stability. It does not necessarily mean unity either.

Secondly, they are afraid that there may be disorder and that the situation may get out of hand. They are also afraid of the outbreak of anarchism. In fact, this fear is not justified. They should believe that the overwhelming majority of people have high consciousness. Everyone should by now understand what "disorder" means after tasting the bitterness of the so-called "causing disorder among the enemies and tempering ourselves." The majority of people have learned the hard way from the "disorder" instigated by the "gang of four." As long as the overwhelming majority disapprove it, no "disorder" can assume serious dimensions.

Thirdly, they are afraid that the masses may be manipulated by bad people resulting in demonstrations against and rejection of the current system. This is only a sign of distrusting the broad masses. It is inevitable that certain bad elements are among the masses at all times, but the question is whether or not these bad elements can manipulate the masses and influence the general orientation. Is it really so easy for some bad people to mislead the broad masses? The political power upholding truth will receive mass support. So why be afraid of some individuals making trouble? Furthermore, what about the strong organs of dictatorship?

Fourthly, they are afraid that foreign correspondents will read the big character posters, report the news and produce unfavorable effects. This worry is also uncalled for. When Chinese people express their views, even though including isolated antisocialist statements, we can let the foreign press publish even the original text if they so please. But can this shake

socialism to its very foundation? If socialism can be so easily shaken that it cannot stand the least opposition, then is it not far too weak? The so-called "do not wash dirty linen in public" and the policy of "cocooning oneself like a silkworm" which are deceptive as well as self-deceiving should be changed. Actually, in the whole world, is there any country where there is no dissenting voice? Why should this cause any alarm? As to certain individuals who carry on contacts with foreign embassies, admire the capitalist system and want to go abroad, there is nothing terrible about it. China has now a population of 1 billion; what difference would a few runaways make? If they want to go and the foreign country is willing to accept them, let them go. There is no need to label them all as "betraying the country and going over to the side of the enemy." Fu Chong [0102 5115] has already left; but isn't he thinking of returning? If there are actually individuals carrying on illicit relations with foreign countries, serving as spies and jeopardizing state security and secrets, then arrest them. We must believe that the vast majority of people are patriotic. To us, the motherland is like a mother. Though she is poor, we still love her. The vast majority, including overseas Chinese, are patriotic. Most foreign correspondents are friendly and only a minority of them are antagonistic to China. So why worry about foreign correspondents?

In my opinion, there is only one thing we need to worry about, namely, the very low level of leadership, because some leaders are accustomed to running things according to the "superior's will." They think that the masses must follow whatever has been decided by the leadership, but fail to clearly see the trend of the developing democratic current. As soon as they find the masses a little recalcitrant, they will suppress, suppress and suppress. They can only see the dark side of things or the bad individuals, and such excuses can be found at any time to justify their action. When suppression reaches a certain extent, it is very likely that trouble will follow. Was not the "5 April" Movement, or the Tiananmen Incident caused by the "gang of four's" determination to suppress the masses by forbidding them to mourn Premier Zhou and thus forcing them to rise in rebellion? We must not forget this historical lesson. Anyone suppressing the masses will come to no good end. Chairman Mao said: "The Communist Party survives on truth instead of intimidation." True, it survives far less on suppressing people. Anyone upholding truth will have mass support, will be strong, will have a future and will be able to master his destiny. Lin Biao's theory that "power means everything" can be completely discarded.

Therefore, I propose that the leaders support the Democratic Wall. The area of Xidan is too small and may obstruct traffic or affect the appearance of the city. They can allot some space for big character posters in Zhongshan Park or the People's Cultural Palace; designate certain places for holding assembly or discussion; provide other facilities and collect fees of 2 cents each. In England, there is the "Hyde Park"; in socialist China, can we have a "Democratic Park" as its rival in a popularity contest?

(2) Permission for mass publication of newspapers and periodicals. In the Constitution, freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association is clearly stipulated. These citizen rights should be honored instead of being treated as fine but empty talks. We have only party publications but no mass publications. It would be useful for people to publish their own newspapers and journals to express some different views. Government control should not be too rigid. Some time ago, RENMIN RIBAO published some unfounded news and the people voiced their disapproval. Thus their own publication can in a sense serve as a supervision of the party news media. Can this be called bourgeois freedom of the press? If mass publication of news is considered as a bourgeois freedom, why should this freedom be included in the Constitution? Because of the control of news in the past, people had no way to express their views and grapevine news flourished. If people have to express their displeasure only at home over what is true, it would be better for them to air their feelings in public. It is now high time to end the many deceptions as well as self-deceptions.

(3) On the question of visiting high level people. The number of people coming to Beijing from other provinces and municipalities has been constantly increasing. Probably more people from the south will come when the weather gets warmer. This will create some problems for the capital and some headaches for the personnel concerned. How could things have come to such a stage? The causes, discovered after our study, are: first, the repeated Central Committee orders concerning the rehabilitation of victims of false charges, frame-ups and wrong decisions, have not been thoroughly carried out at the middle level units and by the cadres. Some people did not realize its significance, while others were afraid of the consequences of the rehabilitation because they had been involved in these cases. There are still others who had been primarily responsible for these cases. The Central Committee did proclaim the principle and policy but did not take any organizational measures to insure their implementation, hence the lack of thoroughness in implementation. Secondly, the Central Committee interviewers have conservative ideas and give no specific answers. Sometimes, they are even evasive and refuse to express any opinion. The masses are not satisfied with the treatment they received and therefore have to make repeated trips for the same purpose. Thirdly, among the masses, the idea of "emancipating ourselves" have not received due attention. They tend to rely on others and always like to hear the voice of those high above instead of emancipating themselves in a democratic way through concerted action with the masses in their own units in the light of Central Committee policies.

How are these problems to be solved?

There should be a constant and determined demand for the cadres at the middle and lower levels to be more enlightened in matters of ideology and understanding. Necessary organizational measures should be adopted and some typical cases of cadres' refusal to implement the policy and persistence in the miscarriage of justice and persecution of the masses



should be severely dealt with in order to set an example of disciplinary action. This will help pacify public indignation on the one hand, and urge the lower level units to speedily implement the policy, on the other. Those comrades working at the reception centers should be sympathetic to the appellants' suffering, answer their questions conscientiously, be courageous in accepting responsibility and in instructing the units concerned to account for their action to the appellants. The people's congress and the deputies at various levels should be given active roles. The deputies can receive the appellants in their own districts. They should be empowered to investigate the situation, submit their proposals to the party or government departments at various levels, and supervise the implementation of the policy. At present, the people's deputies are in name only, because they have nothing else to do besides attending meetings. When the judicial organs are further improved, all cases of wrong decisions, false charges and frame-ups will immediately be transferred to the judicial organs for handling.

#### (4) The question of the countryside.

The CCP Central Committee was correct in attaching great importance to the question of the countryside. The question of peasants is a very important one and cannot be overlooked. Peasants make up 80 percent of the whole population and number 7 or 8 hundred millions. Aside from the low productivity of agriculture, the problem of democracy is the most serious one. People throughout the country want democracy, but peasants need it even more badly. To them, democracy means not only political democracy, but also economic and production democracy. Democracy is essential in doing away with the blind commandism by leaders of the feudal overlord type in the countryside. Some comrade in the rural area said: "Experience in the past 20 years has shown that whenever the county or commune leaders did not pay close attention, or paid no attention at all, to our work, production increased. Whenever they kept a tight control, blind commandism prevailed and production dropped. If the peasants can truly be their own masters, I can guarantee that in only a few years, there will be a new appearance in the countryside." Even though these remarks do not refer to the overall situation, they do present a true picture of the situation in many areas.

It is suggested that a vigorous campaign be carried out on democracy and its popularization in the countryside. The peasants should be allowed to be truly their own masters. Provided it does not affect their work or study, proletarian intellectuals in the cities, such as teachers and students, can go to the countryside during the summer vacation to do some propaganda work so as to convince the 7 or 8 hundred millions of peasants of the need to emancipate their minds as well as themselves and to turn them into a tremendous force for modernizing agriculture.

#### (5) The question of democratic guidance and of disturbances by a small number of people.

In the democratic torrent, certainly many different kinds of people may appear. However, we must believe that the majority of them want democracy

for the purpose of realizing the four modernizations. We should let the masses speak freely about good things as well as bad things, about acceptable as well as unacceptable ideas, and about their agreement as well as their disagreement. The sky cannot cave in simply because they are allowed to talk, while, on the other hand, keeping them quiet does not necessarily mean that all is well. To speak is itself not an end, because its ultimate purpose is to provoke ideas and to discover methods for the four modernizations by arousing their enthusiasm in acting as their own masters. Anyway, we should let people talk and listen to them. As to the small number of people abusing their democratic rights and creating disturbances in disregard of the overall situation, or the basic interests of the state (like some people in Shanghai who recently insisted on returning to the big city) this is still no cause for alarm. As long as we lay out the facts and reason with them, the masses will be able to differentiate between right and wrong. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the main current and the side issues in the matter of democracy. We must not negate the main current and the general orientation because of the side issues.

#### Conclusion

In our long history of suffering, the misery of our nation and our people is beyond description. In the past century, there was hardly any imperialist power that did not bully us. At present, Soviet imperialism is threatening us while even Vietnam is trying to bully us. Why can't we become wealthy and powerful? We want democracy, science and prosperity. This is the most urgent demand from the overwhelming majority of people. If a billion people are united as one, the four modernizations can certainly be realized.

"Long Live People's Democracy!"

CSO: 4005

THE DEBT OF BLOOD MUST BE COLLECTED FROM LIN BIAO AND THE 'GANG OF FOUR'--  
THE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE ON YU LUOKE [6657 5012 0344], AUTHOR OF THE  
'THEORY OF FAMILY ORIGIN' MUST BE REDRESSED

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 15-17

[Article by Zue Ke [5641 0344]

[Text] People over 30 years of age probably cannot forget the couplet "If the father is a hero, his son must be a brave man; if the father is a reactionary, his son must be a blackguard." This couplet served as a magic weapon for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to attack and persecute not only the older generation, the office-holders, people in the old society, but also the younger generation including the juveniles. Because of this couplet, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" poisoned the innocent minds of the offspring of the so-called "five red categories" and induced them to carry out large-scale attacks on their own brothers and sisters. This reactionary theory of "family lineage" was the theoretical foundation of the appalling "Red August." The disorder and damages done are still fresh in everyone's memory. The trick used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was vicious indeed! Although subsequent events have enabled people to see this episode in a different light, the reactionary theory of "family lineage" has not yet been theoretically and ideologically repudiated.

In early 1967, an article entitled "The Theory of Family Origin" was published in the "Middle School Cultural Revolution Journal" run by some middle school students. Both ideologically and politically, this article was a strong rebuttal of the reactionary theory of "family lineage." This action infuriated Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and resulted in the author Yu Luohe's personal tragedy.

Before the tragedy, Yu Luohe was an apprentice repairman in the Beijing People's Machinery Plant. He was born in 1942 and graduated from the Beijing No 65 Middle School in 1960. He was a brilliant student in school. After graduation in high school, he scored 5 points on every subject, and 4 points on sports only. He twice sat for the entrance examination for the institutes of high learning and each time showed outstanding achievements. However, because his parents were labeled rightists, he was rejected. The teacher said to him solemnly and yet sympathetically: "Don't take the examination anymore!" At the same time, the teacher encouraged him, saying: "The whole society is a university. Do you remember Gorky?"

For a young man who excelled in academic pursuit, had a high moral integrity, and was trying to forge ahead with high ideals for the motherland's future, what a mental shock this was! True, there had been many unfortunate people born by wrong parents. Under the influence of the ultraleftist line, they all became targets from the moment they were born! Because of this, they even lost their whole future!

On 31 December 1962, he received an "employment" notice from Nanyuan Hongxing Commune. Rejoicing over the opportunity to go into society, he immediately left for the post, despite all the remonstrances from his family members to stay one more day to celebrate the New Year.

He served as a farm hand, then an elementary school teacher, a librarian and a collector of foreign materials (he learned Russian in school and later learned English and Japanese through self-study), and finally an industrial worker. He studied hard on every job he did and at every post he held, his outstanding performance won high praises from the leaders as well as the masses. At the same time, his lofty quality as shown by his orthodox methods, his diligence, his efforts to make progress, his thirst for knowledge, his frugality, his strict demands on himself and his leniency toward others, left a deep impression on those around him.

On 10 November 1965, Yao Wenyuan published his signed article "A Criticism of the New Historical Drama 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office,'" and slandered Comrade Wu Han. This ushered in the persecution of scholars which lasted 10 years and during which many noted scholars lost their lives. With dialectical materialism--which he had just learned--as a weapon, this 23-year-old young man detected the hidden malicious intent of these rogues and indignantly took to the battlefield. He wrote a rebuttal with his powerful pen, but WENHUI BAO published it after drastic corrections and extensive excisions, leaving only about 1,000 words as some negative material. Yu Luoke indignantly returned 5 yuan paid for his contribution.

On 1 October 1966, he was locked up in a courtyard as a "lunatic." His pent-up feelings against the reactionary theory of "family lineage" and his yearning to denounce and repudiate it were suddenly let loose like a violent torrent breaking through the sluiceway. On that day, he wrote the first draft of his "Theory of Class Origin."

In essence, the "Theory of Class Origin" objectively analyzed the influence of families on individuals. It pointed out that family influence is but a small part of social influence; that only people's dynamic initiative plays the decisive role in determining an individual's fine or bad traits; and that class origin can never serve as a criterion. In succinct language, the article ridiculed and dialectically and materialistically refuted the reactionary theory of "family lineage," and pointed out its dangerous and reactionary essence. The article contained more than 10,000 words, cited a host of facts, which have been confirmed by social investigations, quoted many well-known passages from Marxist-Leninist classics, and systematically and vividly described a serious social problem. As the

author himself said: "Everyone has his own family background, and is now faced with the problem on this account (regardless of what kind of background it may be). I hope every person and every family will study this problem, and handle it correctly."

The article was first published in the No 1 Issue of the "Middle School Cultural Revolution Journal" in 1967 and was signed by "Study Group on the Question of Family Background." To further expound his views and ideas, he also wrote several other articles, under the penname "Tan Chun [6151 4783]," such as "On the Life and Death of Martyr Zheng Zhaonan" [6774 0340 0589] and "What Do the Disturbances of So and So Show?"

The "Theory of Class Origin" touched the enemy's sore spot and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were seized with panic. Yao Wenyuan called it a big poisonous weed. At that time, the Cultural Revolution Group was a party above the party, and the words from any of its members became a "supreme directive" with "supreme authority." The article declared the death sentence of the "Theory of Class Origin," but nobody could ever think that the author too received a death sentence.

After being shadowed for over 1 year, Yu Luoke was arrested in January 1968. The people's police, using handcuffs made by the people, arrested the people's son -- Yu Luoke. Since then, he had taken leave of his parents, brothers, sisters, comrade in arms and friends forever.

On 5 March 1970, a bullet, which should have been aimed at an enemy, went through the body of a 27-year-old fighter who had upheld truth and was brave and unyielding. His body, a frail body, had fallen, but his heroic image in the search for and in defense of truth, stood majestically in people's minds.

According to the verdict, he was guilty of "having written reactionary literature, being arrogant, and vainly attempting murder." The third charge had obviously been trumped up to add weight to the first two. (Recently, a public security worker responsible for reviewing this case declared that the charge of "vainly attempting murder" was groundless.)

After his arrest, not only Yu Luoke's whole family was involved, but also the "writers" of nearly 1,000 "letters from readers" searched out from his house were implicated in varying degrees. Even the worker who set the types could not be spared. Some of them were arrested and imprisoned. According to the latest information, some of those involved in this case are still in prison.

Now, one gratifying news is that thanks to the concern of the CCP Central Committee leading cadres, the publishing houses of ZHONGGUO QINGNIEN and GUANGMING RIBAO, the Municipal Public Security Bureau is seriously reviewing the case.

We hope Comrade Yu Luoke will soon be exonerated.

Eternal glory to Yu Luoke, the staunch fighter who dedicated himself to the defense of truth!

Let us learn from Yu Luoke's revolutionary spirit and strive for democracy in our social and political life!

CSO: 4005



INAUGURAL STATEMENT 16 DECEMBER 1978 (ORIGINALLY CARRIED IN NO 1 ISSUE)

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 19

[Text] Within an area of 9.6 million square kilometers in China (Taiwan Province not included), there is at yet not a single nongovernment newspaper.

Opposites depend on each other for existence, though they also struggle against each other. This is the law of the unity of opposites and a basic Marxist law. This is the theoretical foundation for the emergence and existence of SIWU LUNTAN.

Real freedom of speech can be best manifested in some immortal literary and art work, though unfortunately, during the 29 years since the founding of the People's Republic, no such work has been written or published. However, a more permanent result of the freedom of speech is continued social stability and prosperity.

The principle of SIWU LUNTAN is to create a lively political situation in China to the best of our ability. Stability and unity do not mean a stagnant pool of water or forbidding people to speak, particularly to speak the truth. If everyone dares to speak up, there will be no hiding place for filth, and people's will will have a decisive influence on social destiny. Only this can be genuine democracy. Briefly speaking, SIWU LUNTAN wants people to exercise that power of supervision and management given them by the Constitution, in order that the Constitution, instead of remaining on paper, will become the foundation of the existence and development of the Chinese society. Those comrades who are accustomed to one set pattern of government should gradually become accustomed to the spectacle of pluralistic struggles so that they could compare them and select the most scientific, progressive and bright shortcut to the realization of the four modernizations. Only thus can they fit in the world's progressive current.

Even an ordinary people has the responsibility for the state's welfare. Comrade Mao Zedong has said: "The world is our world; the state is our state, and the society is our society. If we don't speak up, who will! If we don't act, who will!"

A democratic, free and prosperous China is right before us!

[Note: The "Inaugural Statement" was originally carried in No 1 Issue of SIWU LUNTAN on 16 December 1978]

CSO: 4005



## REGULATIONS FOR 'SIWU LUNTAN' EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT (DRAFT)

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 20

[Regulations Adopted on 12 January 1979; Originally carried in No 4 Issue]

[Text] The Chinese nation is now in a crucial historical stage and beginning to march toward a truly modern society. History has pushed us up to the stage of political struggles, and our sense of responsibility for this age has called us together. Today, we are formally setting up our Editorial Department.

1. The historical mission for our Editorial Department is to accelerate the development of China's social productive forces, to raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation, and to enable our people to enjoy the most civilized material and cultural living. To attain this goal, we must carry forward and develop the "5 April" spirit, break through all ideological forbidden zones, search for truth, explore all avenues and struggle for democracy and an adequate legal system in order to bring about continual changes in the superstructure and the economic base, and to realize the four modernizations by the end of this century.

SIWU LUNTAN is the people's mouthpiece. As a nongovernment publication, it will forever take roots among the people and forever stand on the side of truth and justice. At present, the main task is to carry out the stipulation in the Constitution concerning the people's rights in supervising and managing their own state and to speak out aloud for democracy and the improvement of the legal system.

2. The organizational principle of our Editorial Department is democratic centralism. The highest power structure is the Workers Plenary Meeting. All important questions concerning the policies for running the newspaper, the formulation, addition and deletion of disciplines for the department; the establishment of formal relationships with outside bodies; important political activities, the discussion and revision of, and comments on, work reports; discussions on budgeting and accounting; the appointment and removal of the persons responsible for convening meetings; the

appointment and removal of responsible persons in the business section; appointment and removal of discipline inspectors; and so forth, should be decided in the Plenary Meeting (with a quorum of two-thirds of the total number) by majority votes.

3. Formal election shall be held within half a year.

The Convening Body in the Editorial Department is temporarily formed of three persons. They are responsible for all routine work when the Workers Meeting is not in session.

4. The Inspection of Discipline Group shall be formed temporarily of three persons. They are responsible for inspecting the work of all workers in our Editorial Department and for enforcing disciplines.

5. During the period of fund-raising by ourselves, each worker will pay 1 yuan each month on a voluntary basis into the basic fund of our Editorial Department. We welcome various forms of fund-raising campaigns on our behalf, and the grant of loans. Funds raised through the medium of the newspapers will be duly acknowledged. Economic democracy will be practiced and accounts will be open for public inspection.

First Workers' Plenary Meeting of  
SIWU LUNTAN Editorial Department.

CSO: 4005

DISCIPLINE PLEDGE FOR 'SIWU LUNTAN' EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT (DRAFT)

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 21-22

[Pledge adopted on 12 January 1979]

[Text] 1. All workers shall refrain from any action in violation of the people's interests.

2. Workers are free to join or to withdraw from the department.

3. Principle of editing and publishing: The combination of editorial responsibility and collective efforts in printing; and the combination of activities in different groups in different beats and collective efforts in producing the final draft.

Once type-setting is completed, nobody shall be allowed to tamper with articles or the layout by making additions, deletions or revisions. Everyone shall have his own responsibility in insuring high quality, and every post will be properly manned. Any typographic errors detected should be corrected by the typesetter. Revision of phrases or sentences should have the editorial department's consent. No change should be made involving principles.

The draft of published articles shall all be filed in the editorial department. Unpublished articles shall not be returned, unless otherwise requested by the contributor. These drafts shall be kept as historical data. They can also be treated as classified materials, if so requested.

4. Unless authorized by the Plenary Meeting of the Editorial Department or the Conveners of the Meeting, nobody shall be authorized to engage in outside activities on behalf of the editorial department.

5. Truth and confidence shall be the second life in publication work.

6. The editorial department positively prohibits any bureaucratic style, and will gladly accept criticism. Visitors will be warmly received and letters or contributions shall be promptly acknowledged. In dealing with

social problems and people's suffering, we shall have a sense of justice and sympathy. However, we should consider the limit of our capacity and refrain from making wholesale commitments.

7. Workers from various units can take part in the editorial department's work provided they do this during their spare time.

8. All members shall willingly observe meeting and working hours. No late arrival or early departure shall be permitted. Leave of absence should be requested if required. They should willingly submit to the correct leadership of every business section. Anyone who has been absent from formal meetings five times in a row shall be considered as canceling his membership on his own initiative.

9. Members of the Editorial Department should feel honored to work collectively. They should not indulge in mean petty action or unprincipled disputes. They should firmly uphold truth and be ready at all times to correct their own errors. They should have the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, strive to seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones, and be united in doing their jobs well.

10. Large receipts and disbursements of funds should be approved by the Plenary Meeting or the Conveners of the Meeting. All expense slips should bear at least two persons' signatures.

First Plenary Meeting of  
SIWU LUNTAN Editorial Department

[Note: "Regulations" and "Discipline Pledge" were originally carried in No 4 Issue of SIWU LUNTAN of 22 January 1979]

CSO: 4005

## A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF SOCIAL CHANGES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA (1)

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 22, 26

[Article by Xu Shu [1776 1659] (Originally carried in No 4 Issue of 1979)

[Excerpts] Although the intensity and thoroughness of this social change surpasses those of any revolutionary movement in Chinese society, it serves only as a supplementary lesson for the industrial revolution economically and for the democratic revolution politically. Therefore, it is entirely capable of fulfilling its mission in the absence of any fierce nationwide resistance (or quasi-resistance). Of course, it cannot be denied that sporadic resistances (or quasi-resistances) have to be encountered here and there and every now and then. Nor can it be denied that during the period from the conception to the parturition of modernization, periodical pangs, filthiness and bleeding are unavoidable. However, the change will take place peacefully. Certainly, it is only through today's reform movement that the periodical pangs and "bleeding" can be completely stopped and the filthiness wiped clean.

A peaceful change can be carried out for the following reasons:

1. People throughout the country, including the majority of those who may possibly form a force of resistance, and even some of those who have gained something before the change, ardently hope that their country can become prosperous. After all, people throughout the country will soon realize the benefits brought about by the change. After their experience in the Great Cultural Revolution, they no longer hope to see any ultrademocracy, anarchism or all-out civil war during the change. They have just learned how to correctly use democracy as a means, and begun to realize the necessity of improving the legal system. They particularly hope to bring about the change and the modernization in a lively political environment of stability and unity. The people's will in this direction will have decisive significance.

2. Long-tested revolutionaries of the older generation and practical economists with the desire for change have become the nuclear force of the CCP leadership since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The important thing is that the CCP is a long-tested

party with a glorious militant history and enjoying high and unshakable prestige among Chinese people. Through its and all the people's criticism and self-criticism, and with its perfected democratic system, its distinctive mission and its reformed structure, it can certainly lead people throughout the country in realizing the four modernizations. It is impossible, and wrong, for anyone to set up a new party as its substitute. Of course, this does not mean that China, originally a pluralist state, has to be changed into a monist one.

3. All progressive people in the world, all big economic countries, except the Soviet Union, and the people in Taiwan, are placing their hopes on the CCP, the PRC and the Chinese people. Any political force or anyone trying to create another catastrophe in the course of this necessary social change and modernization will be universally condemned and doomed to fail.

4. Along with the basic role played by objective economic laws and the gradual and orderly change of the system, any force attempting to resist it will be up against great odds. It will naturally be discredited by the people and history. Despite the existence of any such force in the party, the predominance of those in the party advocating the change and the people's ever-increasing demand for democracy will exert an ever-increasing pressure on this force so that any resistance from it can only be local or temporary.

All comrades with high ideals for social change, cast away outdated theories, search for truth and explore the correct avenue!

CSO: 4005

SELECTION FROM BEIJING 'DEMOCRATIC WALL': ADVERTISEMENT ON MODERN STYLE

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 26

[Text] In response to the leadership's call and press publicity on boycotting imported "Bell-bottom" trousers, our store, after canvassing many people of all walks of life, has carefully designed a purely Chinese style for trousers, temporarily named "Mian Dang [4884 5991] Trousers" or "Anti-Bell-bottom" trousers. It has the following fine features:

It is suitable for fat and skinny people of either sex and any age with any physical shape. There is no difference between the front and the back. It is dark in color, dignified in appearance, and can be used in all four seasons by all members of the family.

The price is low, because of simple tailoring and plain material and suitable for people of the low income brackets.

Purchasers are welcomed! The ban on Bell-bottom trousers has greatly helped push our sale. So once again, we express our gratitude!

National Garment Store  
79, Guocui Lane, Fugu Street  
Fuxingmen, Beijing  
March 1979

Huaxia Weiyl: Thanks for displaying it in your store. I am moved to tears.  
(A reader's comment)

Style



CSO: 4005



## 'LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE' QUERIED

Beijing SHU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 23-25

[Article by An Xiang [1344 4382] (Originally carried in No 3 Issue, 6 January 1979)]

[Text] The 21 December 1978 RENMIN RIBAO carried a Special Commentator's article entitled "Long Live the People--On the Revolutionary Mass Movement in Tiananmen Square." This is the first time since liberation for a people's paper to comment on a people's movement, to appeal for democracy on behalf of the people, to attack the fascist dictatorship of a feudal socialism. [as published] This is undoubtedly heartening. Some details may have been left out, but we should not insist on perfection, particularly because this is the first time for an organ of the party Central Committee to march in steps with the masses with regard to the creation of the "Democratic Wall" and the forming of "democratic discussion meetings" by proposing that the party should provide more active leadership for the people to "continue the struggle for and the defense of people's democracy" "under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is excellent! How can there be anything wrong with it?

Unfortunately, the argument that "party leadership is necessary and party leadership alone can continue to lead to victory" used in the article "Long Live the People" seems to have turned things upside-down and is self-contradictory. Therefore, it is hard for people to take it seriously.

Please read this passage in the article and see the logic behind its argument:

"To continue the struggle for, and the defense of, democracy for the people, party leadership is necessary, and party leadership alone can continue to lead to victory. This is necessary because this type of struggle is very acute and complex. The antipeople and antidemocracy antagonistic forces can often worm their way into our party and our organs of proletarian dictatorship and usurp a portion of party and state power while bureaucracy has often emerged in the guise of party leadership; so that if there is no unified party leadership and no state protection, it will be very



difficult to defeat them by relying purely on the masses' spontaneous struggle. At the same time, nonproletarian ideas have some influence among the masses; so that if there is no unified party leadership and democratic centralism, certain anarchist and ultrademocratic deviations may easily emerge. Therefore, the strengthening of unified party leadership is a fundamental prerequisite for success in the struggle for and the defense of democracy for the people."

The logic behind this argument is quite clear. The thesis is in the first sentence, and the supporting data is in the second sentence. The third and fourth sentences expound the implication of the data as a support for the second sentence, while the fifth sentence is the conclusion.

Briefly speaking, the idea behind the "Long Live the People" article may be expressed this way: Because "the antagonistic forces can often worm their way into the party and state"; and because "bureaucracy has often emerged in the guise of 'party leadership'" and because "at the same time" "if there is no party leadership," certain anarchist and ultrademocratic deviations may easily emerge," "therefore, strengthening unified party leadership" is a "fundamental prerequisite" for defending democracy for the people.

However, the word "because" can hardly be consistent with the word "therefore" subsequently used. On the contrary, it would make better sense if these two words are transposed with each other to read: "Because" our people have too much faith in "strengthening unified party leadership" as a "fundamental prerequisite" for "defending democracy for the people," "therefore" "antagonistic forces" can "often worm their way" very easily "into the party and state" and "bureaucracy" can "often emerge in the guise of party leadership" very easily so that "if there is no party leadership," it will be very easy for people to detect some deviation.

This is by no means a game of words! This can be understood if we will study the emergence and development of the "5 April" Movement.

We have not forgotten that the "urgent notice" that "Qing Ming is a festival for ghosts"; "Don't go to Tiananmen" was issued "under party leadership." Was not the directive to "criticize Deng and beat back the wind to reverse verdicts" issued by the "party leadership?" Was not the resolution to "dismiss Deng Xiaoping from all posts inside and outside the party" written by the top man in party leadership? Yet, did not the great "5 April" Movement show its disagreement with this "party leadership" at the cost of blood and human lives? Let me ask where was the other "party leadership" (if there has ever been one) and how was it "strengthened?" Let me ask again how could this great and orderly mass movement have produced any serious "deviation?"

"Party leadership" is after all concrete, but not abstract, and even less mysterious. The spearhead of the "5 April" Movement was directed, no matter consciously or unconsciously, and no matter whether people are

willing or unwilling to admit, straight at the "party leadership" at that time, because the "party leadership" occupying a dominant position was diametrically opposed to the broad masses of people and party members. If there were any true leading cadres, they could only go to jail to be kept "separated" unless they quit their "party leadership" posts. The only alternative for them was to outwardly oppose but inwardly sympathize with the masses.

Which one of the heroes of the "5 April" Movement has not been labeled "antiparty?" When they swore to dedicate themselves to the cause of democracy for the people, they knew very well what such labels as "antiparty" and "counterrevolutionary" would mean.

The drama "When All Sounds Are Hushed" correctly pointed out: "The party is not theirs. The party will triumph over them." But at that time, "they" were the "party" and the concrete "party leadership." Let us ask, under these conditions, how could "we strengthen party leadership?" And how can we say "party leadership is necessary and party leadership alone can continue to lead to victory?"

The time has changed; the party in power and the opposition party too are now under different conditions. In the past, we said: "Without the Communist Party, there will be no new China." Now, we should say: "We have new China, and we also want a new Communist Party!" This is probably a precious lesson given us by the great "5 April" Movement!

Let us now return to the article "Long Live the People." Its second portion "A Milestone in History" said: "Before the movement, nobody issued any summon, gave any mobilization order, got anything organized, set any goal for the struggle beforehand, worked out any program for the struggle, or prepared any banner of the struggle. The broad masses were the brave fighters as well as the outstanding organizers and commanders of this movement."

Here even without "party leadership" as we can clearly see, has not a soul-stirring melodrama already been enacted? Now we really do not understand how the Special Commentator in the third portion "Life Experience Educates People" could have come to the conclusion that "party leadership is necessary and party leadership alone..." However, the writer actually wanted people to "draw nourishment, lessons and strength" from the "experience" of the "5 April" Movement as one of the "most important, most precious and most urgently needed political experiences." Does not the writer himself feel that there is some contradiction and that it is hard for people to "learn" anything?

This article is by no means intended as a complete negation or an overall evaluation of the "Long Live the People" article. I merely want to clarify a point which has raised doubts about strengthening party leadership as emphasized by the article, although, in so-doing, I may be

suspected of being antiparty. This, as can be clearly seen, is never my idea. We only hope that the writer will write another article to further expound his views. However, he should clarify the relationship between the "5 April" Movement itself and the party leadership and how will the party be able to actually provide stronger leadership for the masses to "continue their struggle for and the defense of democracy for the people. Unless these two questions are answered, it would be difficult for him to justify his statement that "it is necessary to strengthen party leadership and strengthened leadership is a prerequisite for success in the struggle for and the defense of democracy for the people." Unless this statement is clarified, it can only hurt the party leadership and help some bureaucrats to brandish the "antiparty" label in proscribing the people's freedom of speech and democratic rights. This will fundamentally conflict with the original idea behind Comrade Mao's six criteria for distinguishing between "fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds" and for determining whether our speech and action are right or wrong. Is this not dangerous?

27 February 1979

CSO: 4005

## AN URGENT TASK

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 27-28

[Article by Xu Shu [1776 1659] (Originally carried in No 1 Issue on 26 November 1978)]

[Text] Chinese society has entered a new era in its history.

An urgent task of this epoch is to realize the four modernizations through a radical social change. Without such a change, China cannot become strong. If it is only a small change, then it can become only slightly stronger. Only a big change can make it really strong and wealthy. Small changes can only be symptomatic, but not radical cures. A sporadic movement, a directive or some documents can produce only temporary, but not permanent, effects. This has been proved in practice over 29 years since the founding of the People's Republic.

Therefore, "people's desire for orderliness" has developed into "people's desire for a change." This is now the most salient feature of our political life.

Then, how should the change take place?

A radical social change should take place in the economic base and the superstructure simultaneously. With a change in the relations of production as a basis, there should be a corresponding change in the superstructure. Although politics is economics in a concentrated form, we should at present pay particular attention to the Marxist thesis that economics is the foundation of politics. On the eve of the nationwide revolutionary victory, Comrade Mao Zedong particularly warned the party: "If we are ignorant in production and cannot learn about it quickly, we will be unable to resume and develop our production as quickly as possible. We will be unable to achieve success in improving the living conditions of the workers first and then of all people. We will be unable to hold on to our political power or to stand on our own feet. We will fail."

How useful is this warning to our young people who are concerned for the motherland even today!

The principle of change should be carried out in a resolute, thorough, cautious and steadfast manner.

In the course of making changes, if we cannot possibly avoid any reference to the great teacher Comrade Mao Zedong and the experiences and lessons drawn from the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic in our assessment, that is, our historical, dialectical and materialistic assessment, we must be particularly careful and cautious, lest the remnants of the "gang of four" will find some pretext for making trouble and stirring ideological confusions, which cannot be permitted, among people throughout the country. Since our country has to realize the four modernizations within this century and are planning to quicken its pace in this direction, we need not only a peaceful international environment but also an environment of stability and unity at home. At present, some enlightened people, with their very great courage and wisdom have set many fine examples for people throughout the country. This is indeed admirable. As we can see, "dragons and tigers are on the alert across the land" and new talents are emerging continuously in the Chinese nation.

Chinese people want progress and prosperity for their beloved motherland. This is an irresistible historical current. Today's great change is a continuation and development of the great "5 April" Movement.

The maturing Chinese people have demonstrated their great power, wisdom and dedication in the great "5 April" Movement, which will inspire people throughout the country in striving for people's democracy, freedom, culture and science and for a prosperous socialist China. This good intention and high ideal can and will certainly materialize.

The great "5 April" spirit will shed its splendor for ages and throughout eternity!

Long Live the Great "5 April" Movement!

CSO: 4005

## A CURSORY TALK ON TODAY'S '5 APRIL' MOVEMENT

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 28

[Article by She Ren [0152 0088] (Originally carried in No 5 of 1979) (Part of Preface)]

[Excerpt]Aspecter is haunting Beijing City.

This specter has brought some spring air to the people who have been long oppressed and who cannot do anything about their own discontent.

At the same time, however, Marxist doctrines, originally full of vitality, have been emasculated and distorted, and their revolutionary spirit of criticism is no longer familiar to everybody. The conventional way of thinking has overshadowed realistic discernment. Therefore, this specter is a terror to people.

The specter itself is not above reproach after all. Under present conditions, tendencies of all types are asserting themselves, but what is particularly noteworthy is the reappearance of the former style of negating everything. True, negation has a definite and important place in dialectics; but it is only too easy to turn the valuable negation in dialectics into simplified and metaphysical negation.

Some people have said: "Life demands that before entering a new base area, we must meticulously review what we have learned. These remarks aptly apply to the present situation.

CSO: 4005



VIEW THE NECESSITY OF A RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF WHAT  
HAPPENED TO ZHOU ENLAI IN HIS LATER YEARS

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 29-30

[Article by Xu Shu [1776 1659] (Originally carried in No 3 Issue of  
6 January 1979)]

[Text] Not even the most beautiful words in the vocabulary of human beings  
can adequately express the people's admiration for their respected and  
beloved Premier Zhou.

Zhou Enlai's high integrity is like lily and lotus flowers which are dig-  
nified and flawless and which he liked in his life time. Throughout his  
long revolutionary life, his superhuman energy, wisdom and ability were  
familiar to people throughout the world. Day by day and year by year,  
people are thinking of him and remembering him with the deepest admiration.  
In so doing, people cannot help but ask themselves: Comrade Zhou Enlai  
was the CCP Vice Chairman, the Premier of the State Council and the Chairman  
of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee. He handled tens  
of thousands of important jobs everyday, controlled the entire country  
and enjoyed high prestige throughout the world. His position should be  
admittedly high and his power admittedly great. Yet, why was such a  
great man as Zhou Enlai powerless in averting the crisis, saving the four  
modernizations and rescuing the national economy from the brink of collapse  
when the "gang of four" were running amok?

Why could not such a great man as Zhou Enlai save some marshals and vice  
premiers from their violent death, when the "gang of four" was running  
amok?

Why could not such a great man as Zhou Enlai himself avoid the evil tentacles  
and had to die in indignation and sadness, when the "gang of four" were  
running amok...?

These grim historical facts are thought provoking! They should awaken  
the people!



His tragic and moving death led to the "5 April" Movement which shocked the world.

This great movement served as a vivid and profound object lesson on political economy for Chinese youths and people.

It tells people that in an old and feudal country, there cannot be any socialist revolution in its real sense, if there has not been a radical democratic revolution; and that without going through the stage of national capitalism, there can be no high socialist development of national economy to speak of.

If democratic spirit is not infused into the relations of production; if, on the other hand, people with small peasantry ideas are placed in leading positions at all levels and the patriarch work style and the superior's will are allowed to prevail, how can we avoid restricting the development of productive forces and how can we carry out modern large-scale production and build a modern state?

The NPC and the People's Political Consultative Committee play only nominal roles, or serve as only rubber stamps. In a country where people cannot enjoy even the most rudimentary democratic rights, how can they correct any deviation on the part of the helmsman in time and prevent the breeding of bureaucracy, the slanders against the loyal and virtuous, and the disasters to ordinary people!

Chinese youths and Chinese people do not want to see once again what happened to the great Zhou Enlai in his later years.

The main content of this object lesson on political economy is a radical social change. (details omitted)

Let us respect the objective economic laws, develop productive forces vigorously and raise the standard of living and the scientific and cultural levels for the entire population, and let people themselves break the outer shells of the old relations of production and superstructure. At the same time, let us hold high the democratic banner, and, through the people's own struggles, promote a radical, deepgoing and steady social change, transform the superstructure--the state system--and the economic base--the relations of production--and forge ahead toward the goal of modernization for China in order to comfort the loyal soul of Comrade Zhou Enlai. This will be our way of commemorating the third anniversary of Zhou Enlai's demise.

Eternal glory to Comrade Zhou Enlai!

CSO: 4005

'COUNTERREVOLUTION' AND 'FREEDOM OF SPEECH'

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 31-34

[Article by Liu Shui [3177 3055]]

[Text] It is not too cold this winter. In fact, it is quite hot before the Xidan Democratic Wall. Probably, spring will arrive in Beijing earlier than usual. People concerned for the destiny of China are gathering before the Democratic Wall, and the brilliant fire of freedom has warmed their hearts and bodies. Acquaintances and strangers alike are gathering together to discuss the future of the nation and the people. They all deeply feel that if people can enjoy full freedom of speech, many evils can be soon eliminated and many corrupt officials will soon be duly punished. They all rejoice over their freedom of speech once again. However, some cautious, but well intentioned, person told everyone: "The so-called freedom is only limited to the Democratic Wall. Never use this freedom in your own unit or other familiar places. Remember the historical lesson of "luring the snake out of the hole" in 1957, and don't forget the label of "counterrevolutionary." Otherwise, what you say now is like money deposited in the bank, and as soon as a movement comes, it will come back to you, capital and interest."

Some nodded approvingly; others remained silent; but some young people, like new-born calves that fear no tiger, indignantly retorted: "What do we fear? The Constitution has given us the freedom of speech, so we can talk anywhere without violating the law."

The well-intentioned man replied slowly and calmly: "Please don't forget there is another article in the Constitution, and this article appears before your freedom of speech. It reads, in part, 'suppresses all counter-revolutionary activities.'"

This caused great indignation and brought forth this retort: "If I have made some honest remarks, how can that be called counterrevolutionary activities. In fact, it should be revolutionary activities."

Seeing this excitement and outburst on the other side, the well-intentioned man for a moment remained silent. Then he slowly and seriously said: "I did not say that the motions of the lips are counterrevolutionary activities. However, in fact, many people in China have become counterrevolutionaries

simply because of what had come out of their mouths. Young man, think of the past and don't take the letters of the Constitution too seriously."

This type of discussion has been frequently heard before the Democratic Wall. It is generally held that the well-intentioned man is simply fond of arguing, because it is hard to believe that speech can be synonymous with activities. However, after carefully reviewing history, this is found to be true. To clarify this matter, I borrowed a copy of the Constitution and looked through it carefully. There, indeed, are the words "suppresses all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities." However, I could not find any definition of these words. I wanted to find out the specific contents of "counterrevolutionary activities" according to Chinese laws, but there is no code in China. (I have not read the code published before 1966.) I can only recall some specific activities of "counterrevolutionaries" which have been suppressed, restricted and criticized. Through these recollections, I deeply realized that the well-intentioned man's remarks were reasonable. Most of the counterrevolutionary activities carried out by counterrevolutionaries who have been suppressed were in the form of "counterrevolutionary statements." Thus counterrevolutionary statements have become a kind of counterrevolutionary activities. The "freedom of speech" clearly stipulated in the Constitution as a citizen's right is entirely meaningless, because it is very difficult to ascertain what is "counterrevolutionary statement." This can only be interpreted according to the knowledge of superiors and the judicial personnel at various levels. And yet the knowledge of the superiors and judicial personnel at various levels can hardly be convincing; all the more so, because there is no way to prove that these superiors and judicial personnel themselves are not counterrevolutionaries.

History has proved that the article in the Constitution implying that the suppression of "counterrevolutionary statements" is the same as the suppression of counterrevolutionary activities" has caused a lot of miscarriages of justice and brought untold misery to the Chinese society. Those who opened their hearts to the party were labeled and attacked, while those labeled rightists during the "free airing of views" were sent to far away places for reform through labor. Although acting according to the Constitution, Peng Dehuai was dismissed from office for being outspoken, and the circumstances of his death remains unknown. Anyone who had spoken harsh words about Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was persecuted or executed. The "small handful of counterrevolutionaries and ruffians" who remembered Premier Zhou and were dissatisfied with those who confused black with white, were beaten up and arrested by the militiamen, police and army praised as "the steel wall." In the face of these excesses, people have remained silent. They could speak truthfully only to their relatives and friends. Flattery became popular and the singing of praises could be heard day and night. It was amid these praises on "the excellent situation which is better now than ever" that production declined, supplies ran short, and people had to suffer hunger and poverty followed by miscarriages of justice. China is now decades or even a century behind advanced industrial countries.

Shouldn't we draw some valuable lessons from these grim experiences? People have not even the most rudimentary democratic rights or freedom of speech. Is not this one of the causes of these tragedies? The literary inquisitions in Chinese history and the religious inquisitions in foreign history are grim reminders to people of later ages that without people's freedom of speech, the society can only be corrupt, reactionary and highly advantageous to careerists in their exercise of autocratic dictatorship. If we have failed to draw valuable lessons from these historical experiences, we should have learned by now about the importance of democracy for the people from our experiences of bloodshed! There should be no more suppression and liquidation of the freedom of speech, and no more violation of the Constitution by interpreting "counterrevolutionary statements" as "counterrevolutionary activities!" There should be no more attempt to negate the latter article with the former article in the Constitution and to turn the Constitution into something mysterious!

However, facts have not provided any cause for the people's optimism. A few days ago, the newspaper reported that among a group of people arrested for their "counterrevolutionary statements," some of them have been released because they were found not guilty of the charge; but the others were "purely evil doers and the original verdicts were to stand."

It means that freedom of speech does not apply to "malicious attacks," and that "malicious attacks" come under the category of counterrevolutionary activities. Essentially, what is the difference between "malicious attacks" and "counterrevolutionary statements?" Excuse my stupidity, if I fail to see it. To me, they are just like "beancurd in a bowl" and "a bowl of beancurd" and the same merchandise which can be used in any way according to the superior's magic power. As long as circumstances permit, the label "malicious attacks" can be freely slapped on those who open their hearts to the party, freely air their views, and express dissatisfaction with, or opposition to, certain leaders, even though he is upright and forthright. These superiors can then pass a death sentence and execute them, thus bringing China back to the dark age once again.

Probably, the judicial organs have more definite stipulations concerning "malicious attacks," and they may mean making irrational and unfounded statements in abusive language. If so, I am sorry for the victims. These victims are probably uneducated and not highly cultivated so that they can easily give way to their emotions. When they are furious about somebody or something, they can only use abusive language during their emotional outbursts. They can never act like well educated and highly cultivated people who can talk rationally and with good reasons, and whose cursing does not include obscene words.

Also, what type of people should be the targets of abusive language, if such language is to be charged as "malicious attacks?" If the targets are a few high level leaders, then "everyone is equal before the law" as a principle has ceased to be applicable, and people are divided

into classes: one class is protected by law from abuses while the other is not protected no matter whether they are abused or not. If abusive language is forbidden by the party or socialism, I still fail to see how this could be made into law. The party and socialism are not abstract concepts, but a concrete body and a concrete social structure led by actual people who are not immune to mistakes and may even sometimes stand opposed to the people. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are good examples. Then would it still be wrong to abuse them? Were it not for the large-scale abuses by the people in Tiananmen Square which laid the social foundation for smashing the "gang of four," Chinese people today may have to live on air alone.

The CCP won political power only by carrying out "malicious attacks" and arbitrarily creating rumors against the Jiang Jieshi regime which had an 8 million-strong army. Premier Zhou's image grew even greater despite the "malicious attacks" from the "gang of four." Thus it can be seen that a political party and a government full of vitality cannot perish because of the "malicious attacks." Nor can these attacks lower the prestige of an individual. On the contrary, "malicious attacks" can only enhance his stature and hasten the end of the "malicious attackers." Now, why should "malicious attacks" be feared? Why should the freedom of speech suffer indignity like a concubine from the label "malicious attacks?" Is this the evil of the remnants of the feudal conception of morality or simply the attempt to enforce feudal autocracy by gagging the people's mouths?

The Constitution has provided the people with the freedom of speech, meaning that people have the freedom to praise what they find satisfactory as well as to indignantly denounce, criticize and attack (I feel that this should include abusing as a form of attack) whatever they find unsatisfactory. The term "malicious attack" which is exciting but entirely devoid of any specific content, should never be used to make a mockery of the Constitution. Even some statements directed against the revolution should be permitted provided they are based on truth, because freedom of speech does not exclude the making of statements against the revolution. There must be faith in the people's power of discernment, because public opinion can judge between right and wrong, and unpopular statements will dissipate in public opinion. If anyone is really afraid of people's enjoyment of the freedom of speech and restricts it, he should promptly delete this article from the Constitution and tell people in a straightforward manner exactly what is tabooed, instead of "selling dog meat by hanging up a sheep's head." Then people will not be trapped again by the idea of freedom of speech. They will not be labeled counterrevolutionaries, in which case not only themselves, but also their relatives and even their offsprings will be implicated. Constitution and law should be strict, and should have no more such things as "counter-revolutionary statements" or "malicious attacks" which can be arbitrarily interpreted and suppressed. China cannot afford to have such an expensive gadget, especially for a second time.



Winter in Beijing is actually not cold, and the arrival of spring will certainly be earlier than usual. But beware of a cold spring which may hurt or freeze some young shoots to death. This will be a painful experience to all people. (end)

[Note: This article was originally carried in SIWU LUNTAN No 4 of 22 January 1979]

CSO: 4005



CONTRIBUTION FROM ZHONGQING

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 34

[Poem: "After Dreaming of A Visit to the Ancient Yelang" [1123 6745]]

[Text] From high up the Guizhou Mountain  
Can be seen Yelang, a vast area.  
Only steep cliffs dot the landscape;  
No plain is in sight within a 10-li radius.

In dream, I visited Ancient Yelang Village,  
Roaming the vast barren wilderness for a long time.  
Corns are sparsely planted here and there,  
And depended on to appease hunger since time immemorial.

I looked below to see the King of Yelang,  
Proudly seated in the Dragon Palace  
To receive the homage of numerous officials  
And thinking he lived in the world's center.

After the ceremony of shouting "Long Live,"  
the "Sage's Land" melody is played thrice.

Yelang is an ancient village  
Rivaling the paradise in beauty  
The clothes are plain, but smart and cooling,  
And the vegetable diet is nourishing.

Illiteracy reduces wild expectations,  
Though poor, the people are very happy.

Suddenly the arrival of a Han envoy was announced.  
A lunch party was held in Jinbi Hall.  
Came a rude question: "How big is Han?  
"And who is bigger, Yelang or Han?"  
Before the envoy could answer,  
His laughter shook the palace.  
The King was angered at the rudeness,  
And drove him out of Yelang.

The loud noise frightened me out of sleep,  
With the cries still ringing in my ears.  
Anyone resisting the four modernizations,  
Is no different from King Yelang.

CSO: 4005

## MORE TALK ON STRENGTHENING PARTY LEADERSHIP

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 35-36

[Article by Huai An [3232 1344]

[Text] The 15 January RENMIN RIBAO carried on page 3 an article entitled: "What Is Party Leadership?" in a special column dealing with the question of strengthening party leadership. This article gave a strict definition of "party leadership" saying: "In countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the so-called party leadership essentially means that in our socialist society, we must accept the communist party's leadership in all fields of work, we must carry out the party's line, principles and policies; and we must advance along the road indicated by the party. In other words, in our country, we can tolerate neither the leadership of any other political party nor the existence of any independent kingdom that does not submit to our party leadership."

Then let me ask: Is this definition accurate, complete and scientific? Is this definition suitable in any period and under any condition? When there are mistakes in the party's line, principles and policies (practice has proved that mistakes are often unavoidable, and the same situation will probably continue!) must we still carry them out? Didn't Lin Biao say "act accordingly whether or not we have already fully grasped their significance?" If we do not act this way, will people accuse us of "kicking aside the party committee to make revolution?" If so, I will be sharing the views of the "gang of four." Will this create an "independent kingdom that does not accept party leadership" the existence of which "cannot be tolerated?" Then, if we "carry out what is right and refuse to carry out what is wrong," everything should be in perfect order. However, things cannot always be so ideal, because people's interpretations of "right" and "wrong" cannot be identical. Then, if each person goes his own way and "carried out only what is beneficial to himself, but not otherwise," will this not create chaos? (We have had our practical experience in this respect.) After all these merry-go-rounds, it may be better for us to carry them out after all. In other words, we will have to "act accordingly whether or not we have already fully grasped their significance." However, will this make us feel any easier? What would be the perfect answer? Anyway where does the problem lie? Why is the question of "strengthening

party leadership," which is only a matter of general knowledge of Marxism (and RENMIN RIBAO quoted many relevant passages from Marxist-Leninist classics to support it) still not clarified? If you still do not think there is any problem, please look at the viewpoints of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" mentioned above. If you can give a satisfactory explanation, you should thank heaven for this great achievement.

Is it unnecessary to strengthen party leadership? Please have no misunderstanding. My answer is "No," that is, it is not unnecessary to "strengthen party leadership." My question is how to strengthen it. Whether or not such slogans as "must be carried out," "act accordingly whether or not we have fully grasped its significance," "anything mentioned in the book must be carried out," and so forth, can strengthen party leadership is a question deserving careful study. If we will study these slogans carefully, we will find that they seem to have a common feature, that is, whenever the question of "strengthening party leadership" is raised those who put forward these slogans would be keeping their sharp eyes on the masses, namely, "those who are led." They hold that "those who are led" should be honestly "obedient" and "submissive," and this means strengthening party leadership. It seems to me that the question of strengthening party leadership concerns only the masses instead of the leaders. How can this be satisfactorily explained? If such is actually the case, it would be more forthright to call it "strengthening mass acceptance of party leadership." The meaning then will be even more clear. Then since it is obviously the intention to strengthen the "submissiveness" of those who are led, why should it be called "strengthening party leadership?" What is "party leadership" after all?

In our opinion, the so-called "party leadership" should refer to the party Central Committee and the local party organizations at all levels as well as the party leaders. Broadly speaking, party leadership also embodies the party line, principles and policies as well as the party leaders' ideas and statements. All things having the character of guidance should be called "leadership," and people accepting this leadership should be called "those who are led." The so-called "strengthening party leadership" means the need to strengthen the end of leadership instead of the end of "those who are led." Again, the so-called "strengthening party leadership" should first call for correctness on the part of the party's "leadership," namely, the correctness of the party line, principles, policies and so forth, which should be further translated into action by organizations and leaders at various levels in order to fully mobilize and organize the masses and to induce them to willingly follow the Communist Party in the struggle for the established goal--communism. This should be called "strengthening party leadership."

The masses generally have their discerning power and will follow the correct leadership in the advance. Of course, there will be exceptional cases, but they are not to be feared. As we understand, before liberation, the comrades engaged in underground work in the white areas faced great

difficulties because of the poor working conditions. Then how could they "strengthen party leadership" among the masses? Could they still shout such "revolutionary" slogans as "You must obey," "Obey our directions" and "You must carry them out" otherwise you will "not be permitted to exist" in order to "strengthen party leadership?" I believe these comrades knew exactly what they were doing. After all, strengthening "leadership" does not mean strengthening "being led."

Of course, in the continuing struggle, people under correct party leadership will continue to raise their political consciousness. This is the result of "strengthening leadership," but not the beginning of "strengthening leadership." Furthermore, submission to disciplines and laws is necessary among the revolutionary ranks. But this is only one aspect of the "work of leadership" and not the whole! Therefore, the view that "strengthening party leadership" means enforcing people's "submissiveness" is probably incomplete, incorrect, unscientific and even harmful!

Will the writer, because of his views expressed above, be accused of trying to be a citizen of an "independent kingdom?"

[Note: This article was originally carried in SIWU LUNTAN No 4 of 22 January 1979]

CSO: 4005

## REPORT ON THE SITUATION

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 37-38

[Text] (Peking, 30 March 1979--Our own journal) In the afternoon of 29 March, three men, headed by Chief Officer Yang of Niu Street Police Station in Xunwu District, Beijing Municipality, visited our Editorial Department for the first time in the name of carrying out a security check. Before then, in the morning of the same day, a female stranger, accompanied by two neighborhood directors, came supposedly for a sanitary inspection before the festival (probably the '1 May' festival which was then about a month away) and screened over our office.

Our Editorial Department is located within a 16 square meter room and was at that time publishing our No 8 Issue.

When the three policemen arrived, one of our workers happened to have a family quarrel with his wife and was then arguing with her. From the argument, Officer Yang found out that this worker was absent from his regular work that day. Then he asked for the worker's work unit, his name and address. He urged him to remember "stability and unity" and not to disturb the neighborhood. He also asked why he did not attend to his regular work and stressed the need to "grasp revolution and promote production." The worker replied: "I have accumulated more than 20 days' leave. Since the work on this issue is heavy, I am here on leave with the leadership's approval." Then Officer Yang asked a member of the editorial staff about his work unit, his name and what was he doing (at that time, the place was littered with hand-printing machines). The editor answered all his questions, and told him that he was publishing No 8 Issue of SIWU LUNTAN. He also asked the policeman what they were looking for. Officer Yang did not reply. He suddenly asked: "Which day of the week is your dayoff?" "Sunday" was the reply. Question: "Then how can you be at home today?" Answer: "On sick leave. Do you want to see the leave slip?" Officer Yang said it was unnecessary. Later he asked: "Anyone remaining here through the night? If so, he should report this place as his temporary residence." (Since this address is included in the municipality, it is not clear why a temporary residence should be reported.) Answer: "Nobody stays here overnight. We all come to work here after our regular duty hours. When occasionally the workload is heavy, we just take catnaps."



At that moment, one of the policeman discovered "something." He said: "There is a small room beside the editorial office. Someone is inside. Why is the door locked?" He ordered the houseowner to open the door. The houseowner told him that there was no one inside, and that the noise was caused by the blowing wind. But the policeman insisted on opening the door. The houseowner then explained to him that the key was kept by two female comrades working here. (One of them had her regular day off on Thursday and the other, who had been laid off from the Northeast Corps for health reason, was waiting here for reassignment.) They went into the room trying to avoid the scenes of a family quarrel, and later went downstairs with the key. So the door could not be opened. The policeman did not believe it, and asked: "How about your own key?" The houseowner said: "The key has been taken away by someone. Is this anything strange! Don't get excited. If you want to know for sure, I will break the door-glass and let you look through it."

Just then, the two female comrades came down from upstairs. The door was opened. The policeman, who discovered "something," also named Yang, quickly entered. Nobody was inside. The houseowner said: "That is why I told you not to get excited." The policeman said disapprovingly: "Hum! There was cause for excitement!" One of the female comrades said to him: "Tell me what do you mean by 'there was cause for excitement.'" The policeman could not explain. But he could not take back his words. Officer Yang then asked the two female comrades about their work unit, names, addresses and the names of their houseowners. The female comrades answered them all, and then countered with this question: "Why do you have to inquire about all this?" Officer Yang said this was a security measure, and that anyone who is not a resident here should be treated as an outsider and should be questioned and recorded. (Please note that these scenes took place at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and inside the house of a Chinese citizen.)

Finally, Officer Yang told that editor: "You are the houseowner. If anyone causes trouble in your house, you will be held responsible." (We really do not understand what trouble could be caused here for which the houseowner should be responsible.)

The houseowner should have perfect reason to refuse this type of "security inspection" which resembled a house-search. However, in consideration of the overall situation and to avoid unnecessary conflicts, we still carefully and cordially cooperated with the police. On the eve of the third anniversary of the great "5 April" Movement, this above incident cannot help but arouse our attention and vigilance on subsequent developments.

CSO: 4005

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 p 38

[Text] In January 1979, Fu Yuehua [0265 2588 5478] was taken into custody for interrogation. This incident caused a spate of rumors at home and abroad. For an accurate presentation of this case through the news media and to preserve the internal stability and the dignity of the socialist legal system; to protect the minimum personal safety of Chinese citizens; to insure the healthy development of our people's democratic movement and to uphold the principle of "defending the law but not the person," our Editorial Department has carried out extensive investigations in cooperation with other nongovernment publications and civilian groups, and also independently and seriously requested the NPC Standing Committee, the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate, to look into the case of Fu Yuehua, and to publicize the process of Fu Yuehua's arrest, the reasons for her arrest and her public trial. In view of some CCP Central Committee member's talk about the trial of this case in the open court, we feel that the preliminary goal of "defending laws, not persons" has been attained. We are waiting for the public trial and will watch the proceedings as spectators. The real situation of Fu Yuehua as proved in the open court will determine our final attitude toward this case.

Editorial Department of SIWU LUNTAN  
25 March 1979

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 8, 1 Apr 79 pp 1-3

[Text] As proposed by many readers, this will be a monthly magazine beginning from this issue. It will be published at the beginning of each month. Intending subscribers can write for the subscription cards.

9411  
CSO 4005

## EDITORIAL MESSAGE TO AUTHORS OF DEMOCRACY WALL POSTERS

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese No 2,  
8 Jan 79 pp 3-4

[Editorial: "New Year Message to the Authors of Big-Character Posters and Small-Character Posters on the Democracy Walls and Comrades of the Democratic Activity Groups in All Parts of the Country"]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrades:

The year 1978 has passed, and the even more brilliant year 1979 has arrived. At a moment like this, all comrades in our Editorial Department, just like all of you comrades out there, are filled with the excitement of combat in facing the combat that is to come.

As we look back at the year 1978, the series of events which attracted attention from all over the world such as the convening of the National Science Conference, the triumphant proceedings of the Third Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the rectification of the Tiananmen Incident, the surging forth of democracy walls and democratic activity groups all over the country--for each and every great event of this sort, who, as long as he happens to be a full-blooded Chinese, can help feeling excited to the extreme?

In 1979, the New Year's Day editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY issued its clarion call to the masses of the whole country on our New Long March. From now on, what shall be the task of our democracy walls and our democratic activity groups? To what problems shall we pay our attention? Here let us discuss a little this publication's own view.

First of all, our task should consist of the promotion of the realization of our four modernizations, the promotion of stability and unity and the promotion of democracy and development of our legal system. In order to accomplish this historic mission in China's behalf, we think attention should be paid also to the following important points:

1. The articles to be published in the big-character posters and small-character posters must be positive and not subjective; nor should they succumb to partiality, i.e., to the habit of seeing only the trees but not the forest, of knowing only one side of a story and not the other side. They must achieve an overall control of the data they use. They must, on the basis of an overall consideration, point out, analyze, as well as solve problems in a given situation by subscribing to (the theory) of one dividing into two, i.e., considering the positive effects of the developing situation on the one hand and considering also the negative effects on the other hand--namely, they must consider external impact while they consider domestic impact of such a developing situation much as they must consider people at the level above and in the middle while they consider the people below, thereby taking care of the directions of movement on the part of the people at all levels as well as the leadership at all levels. They must differentiate between those tasks which should be undertaken immediately, those tasks which are to be undertaken as the next step, and those tasks which can be carried out only in the distant future. Never take tasks that can only be carried out in the course of tens of years or of at least 10 or 8 years as something that should be carried out right now, lest the thinking of the successors on the job becomes confused, the existing stability and unity and schedule of the four modernizations become affected, or, as it were, such impetuosity itself becomes also unacceptable to the authorities concerned. For, in this case, what is being followed is but in reality a "leftist" line of misguided action. At the same time, the wording and the expression of these articles must be disciplined, not drifting toward absolutization at the slightest excuse under the notion that the more radical one's words are, the better one's articles would also become. It is necessary to adapt one's revolutionary zeal to cool and calm thinking. (You must realize that) your articles are intended to cope with society; you should therefore employ correct approaches so as to make them productive in terms of practical effects; there must be unity between motivation and such practical effects.

2. In our realistic society, there is an aspect of unity and there is also an aspect of contradiction between the leadership and the masses, between the central and local units of government, and between the central authorities and the people. But the contradiction here is not antagonistic but non-antagonistic. Therefore, we cannot publish articles from the angle of disposing antagonistic contradictions or express our views in that sense. Otherwise, not only will our articles and views not be acceptable to the authorities but the results may prove to be precisely contrary to what was desired in the first place, which would accrue no advantage to the authors of such articles and views themselves in any case. In reality, such articles, based on exaggeration to begin with, are bound to affect stability and unity as well as the four modernizations. Practically speaking, nor do they represent any genuine practice of democracy because they are not conceived in a scientific manner.

3. There can be no "destruction" without "construction." Since the Cultural Revolution, people have drifted into a habit. That is to say,

they only like "destruction" but dislike "construction," and they only like to resort to an all-out exposure and uncovering of shortcomings and mistakes but do not feel like providing well considered solutions to the contradictions thus exposed and uncovered. We think that the purpose of "destruction" aims precisely at "construction." Therefore, it is best to consider how "construction" is to be achieved while "destruction" is being carried out. That is to say, we must not single-mindedly resort to exposing and uncovering shortcomings and mistakes, but should even more attentively come up with constructive proposals. Those who know only how to expose and how to uncover shortcomings and mistakes can at best be considered 30-percent-revolutionaries.

4. We must strengthen our study. Apart from studying society and studying politics, we must especially study natural sciences and technology. To a country dedicated to the realization of the four modernizations, the period of administration only by civilian officials (two characters in parentheses illegible) has passed. In our estimation, 10 or 20 years from now all cadres from the rank of the secretaries upwards will have to possess a cultural level above that of college graduates before they can qualify for the handling of such heavy responsibilities as those pertaining to the administration of a country dedicated to the realization of the four modernizations. There are many fighters for the cause of democracy who harbor great ambitions and who are determined to reform the country and the society; in order that they are enabled to adapt to the forthcoming situation accordingly, it is an absolute necessity that they acquire more knowledge in the natural sciences and in technology.

The way we do our work must be practical. We must be enthusiastic about our own assignments. If one should prove lax at their own jobs while flippant about democracy and about the legal system, this would not be the manner of a practical worker. Society would not have wanted such a person to begin with, let alone putting him in any commanding or managerial position.

The editor-in-chief of this publication, Comrade Xia Xunjian, has himself been very studious in his life. He has subscribed to some 30 journals and newspapers on politics, literature and science and technology. Apart from contributing writings on politics, philosophy, economics and literature to the various publishing houses, he has also authored publications on science and technology ("China Youth" Press is going to publish his "Learn Something About Computers" this year, and also his two-volume "Survey of Modern Science and Technology," which together make up a contribution of three volumes in more than 300,000 words in the category of books on science). In his work, he is as solid as an iron man. In pursuit of his studies in the enterprises of production and in incurring persecution and unemployment in the process, he has lost his job for more than 10 years, with only temporary work to be found from time to time until the new policy was recently put into practice. As he then proceeded to work at a factory, he nearly became a victim of his work at the station assigned to him on two occasions. One time, he was engaged in a "furnace activation" experiment which was dangerously prone to victimizing the workers involved. He

mobilized both the leading cadres and his comrades at work to leave the locale of the operation while he himself alone proceeded to carry out the experiment, thereby courageously dedicating himself to the people. During his working day at the factory, he would run rather than walk while he proceeded from one workshop to another. Said he: "Time is productivity." But while he did all this, his status was but that of a temporary worker. Comrade Xia Xunjian is therefore an outstanding democratic fighter of our publication and also a down-to-earth practitioner. We think all democratic fighters can take a leaf from his character and his expression and behavior for their own benefit.

On this day of great happiness in the New Year, we only wish to present these immature, piecemeal views concerning the development of democratic activities among the masses as if they are the bricks thrown out that might attract pieces of jade in return, so that pertinent criticism, correction and discussion on the part of the vast ranks of our comrades may be aroused as a result.

Finally, we would like to extend our best wishes to all democratic fighters in their struggle for new achievements at work and in their studies in this new year ahead.

New Year's Day, 1979

9255

CSO: 4005



## PROPOSALS SUGGESTED TO PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese No 2  
8 Jan 79 pp 5-6

[Article by Xia Xunjian [1115 6064 0256] "Some Proposals to the Party Central Committee"]

[Text] I. I think that the party central's criticism as to the merits and demerits of Chairman Mao and the conclusions of certain historical questions cumulated since the founding of our state should be presented in a summary manner at the 12th National Congress scheduled for 1980. Otherwise, (this lingering indecision) is going to stand in the way of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses poised to open up all avenues of expression and to say all they wish to say accordingly; (it) is also going to stand in the way of the people wishing to speak the truths in their hearts. There is a prevailing feeling among the masses today which suggests that, so long as the party central has refrained from presenting its criticism and its conclusions concerning Chairman Mao's merits and demerits and concerning those historical questions in accordance with the truth, then they themselves are simply not going to express anything at all because, if they express themselves this way they might hurt Chairman Hua and if they express themselves that way they might hurt Chairman Mao, and the best thing to do, therefore, is simply to say nothing, leaving the judgment to the devils no matter what has transpired or what is going on.

II. I think that, in order to realize the four modernizations, it is first of all necessary to modernize the leadership teams. In the case of the workers, it has been necessary to fix their levels of competence. In the case of the recruitment of college students and employees, it has been necessary, when they eventually join the army, to examine the levels of their cultural achievement. Then, why, in the case of the cadres' promotion and raise and of the appraisal of their levels of competence, should there be no examination of any kind?

III. I propose that, at an appropriate time, the party central suggests to the whole party, the whole army, and people of the whole country the following slogan: "Let Us Struggle for the Revolutionization of Our

Thinking and for Making It Scientific" (revolutionization--"Struggle Against Selfishness and Criticize Revisionism," Three Dos and Three Don'ts"; making it scientific--seeking truth from facts, stressing practical effects in our work, one dividing into two, correct overall view plus correct sectoral views, opposition to partiality, metaphysics and absolutization, practicing the "Three Don'ts," i.e., don't beat people with a big stick, don't attach labels to people at random, don't grab people at random for alleged wrongdoing without proof).

IV. I think a pupil at the 4th or 5th grade should already start to learn something about "one dividing into two" so as to enable such a child, at that very early age, to get used to employing that principle when he becomes involved in a quarrel with his schoolmates or a contradiction with his father, mother, brother, sister or teacher by analyzing the opposite side and himself in a "one dividing into two" manner. Then, at junior high and again at senior high, he should study twice more something about dialectics. This is really needed for training the kind of people and district representatives who can correctly apply democratic methods and the four weapons in their tasks.

V. I think the way "Re-education" is proposed is not scientific. In our modern society, once our study at the schools comes to a close, we immediately enter society and all (three characters illegible) continue their study. There is really no need to arrange another specific stage of re-education thereafter. Also, the real effect of the so-called re-education is but a passive reform of the subject whose active spirit it usually fails to inspire. But the best result of an ideological reform is to have the subject actively pursue the transformation of his subjective world on the premise of a reform of the objective world. After the criticism of the "two appraisals," the so-called re-education of the intellectuals no longer exists, but the "re-education" of the intellectual youth of the countryside goes on and the practice of simply using them as physical laborers continues to prevail. I think the slogan of re-education should be abolished insofar as the intellectual youth of the countryside is concerned. Intellectual youth of the countryside should be used as the spearhead and the bridge leading to the mechanization and modernization of agriculture and the countryside fostering industrial enterprises (i.e., industrialization of the communes), and not simply as physical laborers. We need to give full scope to the functions of their knowledge, and at the same time develop their knowledge. This would not only be in the interest of the intellectual youths themselves but also directly benefit the vast ranks of the peasants in a practical way.

VI. In the case of resources and materials supply work, the central government and the provincial, local, municipal and county units should all set up such resources and materials supply offices centered on key projects of scientific and technical research. The production tasks involved in the supply of equipment for scientific and technical research passed down by these offices after their seals of approval are stamped shall then be given to the various enterprises to be scheduled among their priority production plans.

## HOME NEWS IN BRIEF

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese No 2,  
2 Jan 79 p 6

[Text] The current situation concerning the handling of the Liang Xiao dark clique by the Beijing University: There were altogether 39 members in the Liang Xiao clique. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Beijing University set up an Investigation Group to oversee the Liang Xiao affair. After 2 years' investigation, the allegations against each and every member of Liang Xiao's clique has been basically clarified. At present, there are only three members left in Liang Xiao's clique to face such investigation. Other members have all been sent back to their respective places, and some of them have also been given definite jobs such as filing clerks and the like. Today the Investigation Group has already submitted a report to the Beijing Municipal Committee and asked for the necessary directives concerning the final disposal and arrangement in the case of these members of the Liang Xiao clique.

It has been reported that in the Beijing University under the control of the concerned authorities today, there are more than 60 or so mass democratic activity groups in operation,

After (the convening of the "Learn from) Daqing (in Industry" Conference), those who came forward to learn foreign languages numbered only several hundred. After the National Conference on Science and Technology, a sudden increase in this regard swelled the number to more than 7,000. A hot tide of studying foreign scientific and technological data (through the study of foreign languages) has thus already been whipped up.

Certain comrades of the Scientific Research Design Institute at Daqing whose income has always been limited happen to be able, one day, to sell 18 yuan worth of technical and scientific books.

9255  
CSO: 4005

## JIANG QING, LIU SHAOQI, RENEGADES DISCUSSED

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese No 2,  
2 Jan 79 pp 15-16

[Article by Qiu Xun [4428 6598]: "My Views on the Question of Jiang Qing, Liu Shaoqi and Renegades"]

### [Text] I. My Critique of Jiang Qing in the Past

In the so-called "Criticize Deng Xiaoping and Oppose the Rightists" farce of 1976, I submitted a written memorial to the party central in which I stated the following: "I heard that someone at the party central has said that the movie film 'The Founding of an Enterprise' which shows the party central dispatching an airplane to send the 'Two Appraisals' to Daqing was intended to reverse the verdict for Liu Shaoqi. How could this have been intended to reverse the verdict of Liu Shaoqi? Daqing gathered its capital from the 'Two Appraisals,' and Mao Zedong Thought educated the people: the whole country wanted to have things done that way. Probably the airplane was dispatched by Liu Shaoqi himself under the proposal of Premier Zhou, but a man who happened to have practiced revisionism might not necessarily have missed doing a single good deed because of that. Even a common man in the street and a residents' group leader would understand this line of reasoning, then how can an important person at the party central fail to understand the same? If even the central leadership is permitted to commit such partiality, will not members of the provincial, local and municipal committees and squad and group leaders of the party branches at the basic level become more inclined to commit such partiality?"

This passage in that communication of mine virtually exposed the pretense of the counterattack, and the period in which I wrote that communication was also precisely the period in which the farce of "Criticize Deng Xiaoping and Oppose the Rightists" was unfolding.

### II. My View Toward Liu Shaoqi Today

Liu Shaoqi committed the acts of a renegade four times in his life (these remain to be investigated for verification): the turning over of guns (to those who resorted to armed struggle) in Wuhan, the socialist education

movement he launched that was leftist in form but rightist in substance, the 1962 "Three Selfs and One Fix" policy, and the reversal and messing up of industrial relationships--these are the more important among his mistakes. But we have not heard that, after he committed these acts of a renegade, he betrayed any of his comrades. Throughout his life, too, he has done not a few good things. His "On the Self-cultivation of a Communist" is a good book. I am at a loss as to why people say that it was (the cause of) the 9th struggle over the two lines, that it was a time-bomb, because the system we are trying to carry out today is precisely the system which Liu Shaoqi tried to carry out in his late years, and this system which we try to carry out under the leadership of Chairman Hua proves even more suitable to our national conditions than the system Chairman Mao tried to carry out in his late years in the face of interference by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." And this present system has been consistently acclaimed by public opinions both at home and abroad.

I am not trying to reverse the verdict for Liu Shaoqi (his very commitment of the acts of a renegade has made it impossible for the verdict to be reversed even if people want to have it reversed); I am only suggesting to the party central that investigation must be conducted in respect to this question concerning him, that a re-appraisal be concluded in respect to the merits and demerits in his life. Have we forgotten that even in the case of Pliehanov, there was a differentiation between an earlier period and a later period, and even in the case of Fu Zoyi, too, there was a differentiation between an earlier period and a later period.

### III. Treatment for People Who Have Committed Acts of a Renegade

Some people who turned themselves in after the commitment of the acts of a renegade during a period of white terror have later rejoined the revolution and have also done many good things. Toward people of this kind, we must appraise their merits and demerits in a comprehensive way. After he committed the acts of a renegade, we must ask, has he further betrayed his comrades? Has he owed any blood debt? Has he joined any spy organization? And, after he joined the revolution later, how has he done his work? Whether his merits outweigh his demerits, or vice versa, must be appropriately appraised (this is not, of course, to negate his historical crime and mistake of having rebelled against the revolution). Chairman Mao said that we must allow people to correct their mistakes. Since, in such a case, he has turned himself in after committing the rebellion, and he has since rejoined the revolution, this is precisely an act of correcting his own mistakes. As for the so-called 61 renegades, they were directed by the party to effect a surrogate confession before they are released from imprisonment to rejoin the revolution. Although some ill political color also tinged such surrogate confession, but, after they were released from imprisonment, they did do a great deal of work for the party and made contributions to the revolution. I think they should be regarded as free of any further guilt.

STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHEN YISONG VISITED

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese  
No 4, 24 Feb 79 p 1

[Report: "A Visit to Old Comrade Chen Yisong--What Had Happened Before and After 'Freedom of the Press' Was Included in the New Constitution"]

[Text] One fine day in mid-January, we visited Mr Chen Yisong. As soon as we entered his house, the venerable gentleman, who was taking a nap after an all-night study, heard of our coming. He immediately put on his dress and got out of bed. We felt rather embarrassed.

Although old Comrade Chen was over 60, he was healthy and energetic. During the interview, we received many good advices and a generous donation from him. He said: When the NPC Standing Committee was discussing the article on freedom of the press in the new Constitution (adopted and promulgated by the Fifth NPC), a certain gentleman held that this article was unnecessary, because there had been no sign of freedom of the press ever since liberation. Old Comrade Chen reasoned with him and said: "The absence of any sign of freedom of the press in the past does not mean that there will be no such freedom in future. With freedom of the press included in the Constitution, publication will be legal except in the case of misappropriation of paper."

After some discussion and debate in the NPC Standing Committee, the Article on Freedom of the Press was finally included in the Constitution.

9411  
CSO: 4005



OPEN MESSAGE TO TAIWAN NEWS MEDIA

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese  
No 4, 24 Feb 79 pp 4-5

[Open message: "An Invitation to Taiwan"]

[Text] To all newspapers and journals, radio broadcasting stations, television stations, people in the journalistic field and our fellow workers in Taiwan:

Our ancient and great Chinese nation is a united entity with a long history and a fine culture, and has made great contributions to world civilization and human development. This is recognized by the whole world. Unfortunately, Taiwan and the mainland have been separated for 30 years. Our communication and intercourse have been cut off, and relatives cannot be united. People have suffered a great deal and most earnestly hope this heartrending situation will soon end.

Because of the long separation, the compatriots of the mainland and their counterparts in Taiwan cannot understand one another and there is no cultural intercourse, no exchange of propaganda, news and visits, and no postal and telecommunication for the people. [obvious a big gap here] the great cause of the motherland's unification. We hope you can accept our sincere invitation. We will provide you every facility. We will welcome and receive you, and can guarantee that you are free to come and go. We, too, are willing to visit Taiwan for sightseeing and to learn from our Taiwan compatriots. If you will invite us, we will gladly accept your invitation.

Our respected civilian newspapers and journals, television and radio stations, and journalist friends in Taiwan, let us work shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand in a common effort to promote mutual understanding between the compatriots of the mainland and those in Taiwan!

Wishing our fellow workers every success.

QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO  
12 February 1979

## CONTROVERSY OVER 'DEMOCRATIC WALL' AT TAIWAN UNIVERSITY

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese  
No 4, 24 Feb 79 pp 5-6

[Article: "Patriotic Wall and Democratic Wall in Taiwan Heated Controversy Before Taiwan University"]

[Text] Recently, a "Democratic Wall" and a "Patriotic Wall" were erected in front of the Taiwan University. Many people concerned with political affairs are fighting their battle of words on these walls.

The "Democratic Wall" is built of ply wood and located before "Taiwan University Book Store." It was put up by Chen Guying [7115 7849 2019], a candidate for NPC deputy, and Chen Wanzhen [7115 1238 4176], a candidate for member of the Legislative Yuan. On the wall are written the words "We leave this Democratic Wall for everyone to express his opinion."

Soon after the appearance of the "Democratic Wall," some young people erected the "Patriotic Wall" in front of the "Haohua Book Store" nearby. On this wall are written these words: "Patriots express their patriotic feelings on this wall!"

Since the expression of different opinions is permitted on both the "Democratic Wall" and the "Patriotic Wall," every poster appearing on either of them would soon meet with a rebuttal in the form of "comments." There are now such a profusion of different opinions that it is hard for people to keep track of them.

A poster appeared on the "Democratic Wall" yesterday, reading: "Yesterday, Chen Guying spoke at Taiwan University. The substance of the speech and the warm response it received eliminated all the malicious slanders and distortion of facts. When he finished speaking, people swarmed to the rostrum to make donations in amounts of 10 cents, 50 cents, \$5 and \$100, totaling 24,971.20 Taiwan dollars. This is an unprecedented spectacle in election campaigns in Taiwan. In the past, candidates had to buy votes. Today, people donate money before giving their votes. This is a new milestone.... We thank those who support Chen Guying and Chen Wanzhen..."

However, there are comments written in red and black ink beside the poster. One passage reads: "Facts have proved that Miss Chen Wanying was only drafted." Another passage reads: "I made my donation out of pity for an assistant professor "begging" in the street, but not in support of his political views."

On the Patriotic Wall were posted some pictures of a discussion group in Zhongshan Hall on 3 December, showing two anticommunist heroes among others. Besides the pictures are several big characters reading: "The National Anthem and National Insignia Must Never Be Destroyed!" and "Fists are used in Zhongshan Hall and human rights are wrecked before the election platform."

On the Democratic Wall was a poster written in red ink, reading: You are simply a bunch of monkeys who have fully tasted the fruits of liberty and yet trample it underfoot. If you think no normal people can exist in our land, why don't you go to the bandit areas?"

These battles of words attract huge crowds everyday. Some of them remain silent while others were discussing among themselves.

9411  
CSO: 4005

LETTER TO EDITORS CRITICIZING PRESS, PUBLISHING CIRCLES

Beijing QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI BAO [MASS REFERENCE NEWS] in Chinese  
No 4, 24 Feb 79 pp 7-10

[Open letter by Zhao Qingli [6392 1987 4539]: "Open Letter to Some Editors of the Press and Publishing Circles"]

[Text] Respected Mr Editors:

Some of you are working very hard everyday reading thousands upon thousands of contributed articles. You toil day and night and even neglect your sleep and regular meals. You must be very tired. If your work is rewarding, it may give you the satisfaction to know that your efforts have not been in vain; however, if it turns out to be entirely unrewarding, or not adequately rewarding, then it would be quite a misfortune to have toiled for nothing.

For many years, you have been most cautious in meeting the current situation. You have taken care not to overstep the mark or even to sing aloud, lest you may alarm some important people. Among you, some are self-styled "cultural and propaganda workers of the party." They seem to be very obedient to the party and Chairman Mao, and very mindful of the political criteria. Yet, your political criteria are not necessarily the same as the people's. When the "gang of four" were riding high, you had one set of political criteria; after the gang was smashed, you have quickly changed to another set without losing any body weight but still going strong. However, this is the same trick used by "The Lin Family Shop" in making money by affixing the labels of native products on to Japanese goods.

Biologists hold that people are sentimental animals. This definition aptly applies to you. You are so sentimental and so like the "folk ballad writers who produce autumn songs in autumn and sing winter melody in winter," and the same song can be used in all four seasons. For a long time, your ears have been fully attuned to the voice of the "leading cadres" which leaves no opportunity for you to listen to the voice from below. Because of your long isolation from the outside world, you have become awfully fragile, so fragile indeed that when anyone blows in some spring breeze during winter, you will feel suffocated. When people

express realistic views on the society, you will say they are "wearing colored glasses." Your glasses are not colored, but unfortunately made of wood. When you put them on, you see nothing. When there is clearly a shortage of supply for the demand, you are the conductor for a "fantasy of a flourishing market" for everyone. When there is obviously a hard time, you force people to sing the bewildering "melody of daily increasing prosperity" in chorus. The political miasmas over many years have benumbed you, and turned you from active fighters on the cultural front into robots. Among the many articles contributed by people full of hope, you only see those who have strong backing and can talk loud. Others you will find distasteful. No matter how well they may have been written, you will blue-pencil them with the words "ideologically weak."

Mr Lu Xun should be well-known by everyone. His literary style is peerless and his political conviction is above reproach. However, if he is still alive, he may find "Beijing in February" better than "International Settlement in March," because, as we all know, he would neither carry out any long-range bombardment of Soviet revisionism or Bandit Jiang, nor keep on beating a dead tiger in order to be a hero. No doubt, he would make some "insinuating attacks" on some respectable gentlemen. So, he can hardly live on writing newspaper articles, and must have to do some temporary jobs in the street to eke out a living.

However, it may not be entirely fair to call you timid gentlemen, because you sometimes work vigorously. When the fasting period is over and some fools serve whole pigs and sheep, you would boldly use a big knife to scrape the bones and even wield an axe to make mince meat. What you cater to people is a big plate of tasteless or even nauseating chapsuey.

You may have had some achievement in these jobs. In our country, not many reading matters are really palatable to the people. The "folk ballad writers", "popular artists" and similar glorious titles which poets and artists found satisfying and were proud to have are now all gone or have become meaningless. Respected Mr Editors, what people want now are workers' cloth-caps and peasants' bamboo hats instead of garlands for the princesses or crowns for the princes. People hope that the paper, produced by their sweat and blood, can be used to express their life experiences and feelings in their own language. Mr Editors, give the people their reading matters, their poets and their happiness!

Of course, we cannot deny that some unhealthy tendencies have been checked. There are actually writers who have a genuine interest in writing something to inspire the people. Even some editors really want to do something good for the people. However, neither these writers nor these editors can do much. People have hurled abuses at the "deceptive newspapers." Why? Because you are not aware of the poison left by the "gang of four" which has penetrated deep into the marrows of your bones and twisted your way of thinking. You should submit yourself to surgery in the way the legendary Guan Yunchang did and let the people cut open your flesh and scrape your bones with a knife.

It hurts me to see your prolonged mental depression. I am also quite concerned with your health. I am sending you the latest homemade medicine of the late 1970's and let you try it. If it is effective, I will send some more later. However, since this is powerful medicine, let me warn you to be careful, lest you may suffer from an overdose.

I could have spoken to you in person. But I dare not. If I contribute any article, it will surely go into your wastepaper basket. If I pay you a personal call, I may act like one taking a pig's head into an ox street and get kicked out in no time. I am glad that on the plain sickbed of QUNZHONG CANKAO XIAOXI, I can freely groan and shout "Long Live!"

9411

CSO: 4005



## UNEMPLOYMENT IN SOCIALIST COUNTRY DISCUSSED

Beijing QIMENG [ENLIGHTENMENT] in Chinese undated, pp 3-5

[Article: "A Discussion on Unemployment"]

[Text] Concerning whether a socialist country has any unemployment problem, should such a country encounter an unemployment problem or not, and how is it to solve its unemployment problem if and when the latter does occur, no satisfactory answer has been found even after an exhaustive search through the classic works of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Zedong.

As to whether a socialist country has any unemployment problem, this is not a theoretical question but a practical question. In the case of other (socialist) countries, we lack sufficient understanding. But in the case of China, at least, unemployment does exist and there are not just a few problems in this very regard.

### Let Us Give Some Random Examples

In the cities, there are high school graduates who cannot pass the entrance examinations to enter the universities and there are also students who are left behind to wait for relocation because of certain difficulties or because of illness; they often have to wait for several years in a stretch before they are actually relocated. Intellectual youths sent to the countryside who are in turn "sent back because of illness" or "sent back because of difficulties" and who must therefore again wait for relocation in the cities; personnel dismissed by the (state) enterprises and hence deprived of their public jobs; personnel sent home during the Cultural Revolution who have not found their means of livelihood; children of certain families who, because of the hardship in life at home, wish to join the work force but who cannot find their opportunities; all of these belong to the category of the unemployed. Intellectual youths already settled in production teams in the countryside; people who have gone through labor reform but who remain incapable of maintaining themselves or their families; cadres sent down to the countryside whose achieved value of production turns out to be insufficient to pay off disbursements pre-fixed by the state; temporary workers in the cities who lack definite occupations: all of these may be called semi-unemployed.

Someone has said that, in China's countryside, there is a surplus labor force of 40 million. Along with the gradual realization of the four modernizations in the countryside tens of millions of population shall be drifting into the cities in the years ahead. These people again will consist a gigantic reservoir of the unemployed. Unemployment has thus already become a serious problem in contemporary China and constitutes an important factor in China's disunity and instability. Unemployment is a serious obstacle in the way of the four modernizations, it will simply not do to adopt or put up an attitude of the deaf and the mute. (Long passage illegible or not legible enough in a sustained way to allow intelligible rendition with complete meaning. From what can be guessed, the general tone of this passage appears to be that the unemployment problem must be taken seriously and given careful analysis.) ...because our productive power has declined and we have not been able to open up any large number of factories and enterprises and other business outlets to solve the problem of the increasing (surplus of) the labor force. The second source is that, because of the sabotage wrought by the Cultural Revolution, many workers, cadres and intellectuals were subject to persecution and thereby lost their means of livelihood. The third source is that our present employment system basically falls in the mode of the Soviet system of the 1940's, (which, of course, has long been outdated). In addition, there have been the adjustments since 1958 and the various changes during the Cultural Revolution which turned it into a rigid employment system which is not under a management based on economic ways and means, which is confusing, and which leaves its front door widely open while shutting its back door tightly. Only a serious reform administered to this system can help adapt it to the needs of China in the realization of her four modernizations today.

Because of the Above, I Hereby Propose the Following Measures

I. Apart from our state's own investment in the process of developing certain enterprises and business units, we should encourage collectivities (street communes), organizations, individuals, overseas Chinese and foreign countries to invest in China for the development of such enterprises and business units. The emphasis of our state's own developmental investment should be placed on heavy industries, basic construction in communication and transportation, enterprises and business units of the first class (mining, farming, energy resources development) and other important key projects which concern state planning and people's livelihood in general. Other points of emphasis in this investment venture should include enterprises and business units of the second class and the third class (processing, commercial services) where the results of investment can be secured quickly, where other aspects of involvement are limited, and where a large labor force can be easily accommodated. The state should formulate an "Investment Code" to prescribe the realm and amount of non-state investments, their modes of management, their taxation, the distribution of their profits, and the time-limit for their purchase and sale, so as to provide a long-range policy, and thereby also provide more and livelier opportunities for employment. As the state's own ability becomes

sufficiently strengthened, these enterprises and business units started by non-state investments may be purchased by the state again in accordance with the concrete conditions then prevailing.

II. We should set up an Unemployment Relief Fund to provide short-term relief, such as 1 year, to the unemployed. The amount of such relief should be one-fourth of a given person's original wage, so that it should be just enough to maintain himself and encourage him to find pertinent work as quickly as possible. The state should formulate an "Unemployment Relief Law."

III. We should establish employment services offices to register unemployed personnel in the various cities and regions and localities, and, on the basis of each individual's characteristics, interest, ambition, education, etc., to introduce them to the various employing units for possible assignments.

IV. We should establish institutions of vocational education to provide the unemployed personnel with the kind of training specifically needed by certain enterprises so as to enable them to meet the conditions of employment requirement thereof. The length of such training may be generally set at 3 to 6 months. During the period of their training, they should be given subsidies better than the amount for unemployment relief allowable.

V. The state should authorize the various enterprises to reduce or dismiss personnel not suitable to continue working there (including workers and managerial cadres) and also to recruit, through the employment services offices and institutions of vocational education, the kind of working personnel they need. The state should formulate "Regulations for Employment."

VI. Every citizen has the right to choose his own work. If he is not satisfied with the kind of work, the leadership, and the kind of compensation at his present unit, he may request to resign and inform the employment services offices so as to find some other suitable work. In order to protect and insure operations of the key industries, where the kinds of work happen to be somewhat harmful, where heavy physical labor is involved, and where national defense is at stake, preferential methods may be adopted to achieve personnel stability by attracting the needed talents and personnel; but no administrative approaches should be used to restrict (the movement of such) talents and personnel.

VII. For the exportation of labor force, the state should formulate laws to prescribe the categories, conditions, agreements, time periods and procedures by which workers and technical personnel may leave the country to go to work in foreign countries.

The above seven items are conceived only as a preliminary step; they are by no means complete. But I believe that if they can be gradually carried out, they will enable the entire society to become lively and vigorous, with everybody taking it as an honor to join the work force and everybody endeavoring to seek progress and advancement, leading to a political outlook of overall competitiveness and of alertness and activity.

It is hoped that everybody will join the discussion of this problem in the days ahead.

9255

CS0: 4005

## DISCUSSION ON U.S.-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP

Beijing QIMENG [ENLIGHTENMENT] in Chinese undated, pp 15-16

[Article by Jie Jun [6043 0689]: "The United States Is a Paradise of Democracy"]

[Excerpt from poor printing] Before the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States and Deng Xiaoping's visit to America, a small-character poster was pasted on the Democracy Wall with the title "Is the United States a Paradise of Democracy?" Although this title indicated a discussion of democracy, but what was actually discussed therein happened to be an entirely different question. I, therefore, felt that it would have been more appropriate to change the title to "Is the United States Our Friend?"

The fact that we now take the United States as a friend--is this a confusion between the enemy and ourselves? Is the United States still an "international gendarme?" Does the United States have just a little more democracy than we do? The fact that we now acknowledge the prosperity of the United States--does this constitute applying cosmetics to America's imperialistic system, singing its praise, and, under such circumstances, would it be a case of seeking truth from facts by continuing to call America's President Carter "head of imperialism?" Our people, rejoicing with gladness, and expressing their friendly feelings through America's President Carter--is this a good thing or a bad thing? Some people are clear-headed (two kinds of clear-headedness, affirmative and negative), but some people still feel rather puzzled, about these questions as our past "anti-American" orientation becomes transformed into our present pro-American orientation. Therefore, this author feels that there is a need for us to talk about them a little, to discuss them a little.

The authors of "Is the United States a Paradise of Democracy?" took the materials supplied by our newspapers and our journals in the 1950's and 1960's as their point of departure and thereby drew a contour of the image of a United States of the 1970's which, because of its establishment of diplomatic relations with us, has become our friend. Thus, terms like "international gendarme" and "imperialism" among the things said really hardly resemble, in our imagination, the kind of things coming from the mouths of a bunch of democratic fighters. On the contrary, they sound like the language with which Albania now attacks us.

The foreign policy of any state is bound to become readjusted in accordance with the changes it faces in the domestic and international situation. As for the world of today, Comrade Mao Zedong described it in terms of his three-world theory, but there have been changes again in this regard during the past one, two and three years. The characteristics of this changed world are: the Soviet Union, as a hegemonistic power, has become aggressively assertive everywhere; in the face of their forceful steps of advancement, the United States has been correspondingly retreating step by step; these developments have served to delay the outbreak of another world war and thereby provide us with a peaceful environment in which we can pursue our construction work in the four modernizations. In the world of today, too, we have constructed an international anti-hegemony united front which includes not only the Third and the Second World but also the United States. This is namely the current policy line in foreign affairs adopted by the Hua-Deng regime today. This line is adopted on account of our needs in respect to the four modernizations. It is also adopted because changes in the United States during recent years have likewise provided such a possibility. The development of science, the abundance of social wealth, and the modernization of living conditions have all worked to bring about the kind of social and psychological changes of great significance in the United States. Therefore, in the conduct of world affairs and in its orientation toward our country, its policies have come to be very different from those it pursued in the 1950's and 1960's. This has made our own pro-American orientation possible. The United States and us have been insulated from each other for nearly 30 years. There has been a lack of mutual understanding. Up to the 1960's, the Chinese in the minds of the Americans still dragged along in a pair of baggy long pants. Similarly, what has been an American like in our minds? America was but a slum area of poor people; it had to do only with car accidents, hold-ups, murders, social crimes, violence of the blacks and strikes staged by the workers; and it thus cut an image of "a setting sun in the west with hardly any life left," something "ready for the museum," and of corruption and decline that consisted in the very aforesaid things. This apparently is also a twisted image. But conciliation is the trend today, and the common desire of the people of both countries. President Nixon first extended his hand to us. "We cannot make everybody our friend, but we can easily make everybody our enemy" (Inauguration Address). "Through a little ball (namely the ping-pong ball), we have ingenuously opened the doors which have been tightly closed for over 30 years. Consequently, two great nations of the world--one the world's most populous, and the other the world's wealthiest--are now shaking hands with each other." Just as Deng Xiaoping said when he shook President Carter's hand upon conclusion of his talks with the latter during his visit to the United States earlier: "Now the people of both our countries are shaking hands." The Chinese people are smiling. The American people are smiling.



**END OF  
FICHE  
DATE FILMED**

16 August 1979

D.D.

